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SOME DANGERS OF DATING SCEATTAS BY TYPOLOGICAL SEQUENCES

MARY MOREHART

DATING sceattas, the earliest English silver pennies, a perennial interest of numismatists, has again recently been in vogue. The total life for this coin series is now confidently put between *c.* 660–70 and *c.* 740–50. However, type order within the series, as well as precise dating for each, has yet to be achieved or agreed upon.



a. Sceatta, Reverse of *BMC* Type 37.
Diam. *c.* 1.2 mm. *B.M.*



FIG. 1.

b. Bronze disk from Bülach, Switzerland.
Seventh century. Diam. *c.* 7.5 mm.
Schweizerische Landesmuseum, Zürich.

Many methods are used either separately or in conjunction to date individual sceatta types, but I would like to comment on certain risks in one method only, typological sequence dating, when used unsupported by any other method. Having isolated these risks, I would like further to show how the art historian can aid the numismatist to avoid these dangers by showing that contemporary ornamental metalwork offers more likely models than do other sceattas for many sceatta designs included in such constructed sequences. I take as an example of the risks in question and their resolution, a typological sequence with a long and unresolved history even before being used by S. E. Rigold in a recent chronological arrangement of the early sceattas.¹ Rigold states that the reverse of *BMC* type 37 (Fig. 1a), a rose formed of four small birds whirling around a small central cross, originates from the reverse of one variety of *BMC* Type 27 (Rigold's type B III B), a bird perched on top of a cross, this latter design being itself taken from a Merovingian source. D. M. Metcalf² accepts this derivation, but on other grounds argues for different dates than those assigned by Rigold.

¹ 'The Two Primary Series of Sceattas', *BNJ* xxx (1960), p. 23; 'The Two Primary Series of Sceattas: Addenda and Corrigenda', *BNJ* xxxv (1966), p. 1.

² 'A Coinage for Mercia under Aethelbald', *Cunobelin*, xii (1966), pp. 26–39.

Neither Rigold nor Metcalf gives any explanation for this imaginative change from one bird on a cross to four birds arranged around a cross, but perhaps both rely on G. Baldwin Brown, apparently the first to suggest this transformation of type 27 into type 37, in his *Arts in Early England* (1915).¹ Baldwin Brown's suggestion differed from an earlier proposed sequence of C. F. Keary in the *Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum* (1887)² in which type 35, a bird with a cross before it, gave rise to type 36, in which this one bird is duplicated, with one small bird now above a larger bird with cross, to be followed in its turn by type 37 with four birds, thus a reduplication of the two birds of type 36; in all, a logical progression from a simple one bird with cross to a complex of four birds by repeated duplication. This earlier sequence is accepted by G. C. Brooke (1932)³ and by Philip V. Hill (1952).⁴

In these two sequences each ending with type 37, which are sometimes used to support dating and sometimes not, we have an example of a reaction to the absence of an agreed-upon Roman, Merovingian or Byzantine prototype for a sceatta design which would insist that the missing prototype must necessarily be another sceatta. This reaction has given rise to some rather fanciful 'sequences' in which only a stretch of the imagination can relate the type alleged to 'evolve' from one to another. Many writers from Keary onward have bridged these imaginative gaps by endowing the sceatta designer with unusual creative gifts and quickness of fancy in transforming one design into another. Hill, for example, speaks of 'the delight which the designers of the sceattas took in varying and modifying dull designs'.⁵

In his discussion of 'The Artistic Aspects of the Early Anglo-Saxon Coinage' Baldwin Brown developed at length his explanation for creative imagination producing sudden design leaps.⁶ He describes a process of devolution, in which successive copying of a design, originally Roman or Merovingian, ultimately produces near or total unrecognizability, until, from these wrecks of older representations, the artist die-engraver imaginatively creates a new design that has very little resemblance to the original type. This combination of devolution and creation can be demonstrated in detail for a small number of sceatta types, but contrary to popular opinion, does not apply to most, and specifically not to type 37. Neither of the sequences ending in type 37 show the essential features of degeneration. There are minor changes in pellet arrangement, in the size of the one bird of the Bird on Cross, but nothing so unrecognizable as to give rise to four birds or two in place of one.

If proposed sequences, like those under discussion terminating in type 37, do not satisfy the conditions of 'degeneration'; if there are not telling stylistic connections among the types in the sequences, the relationship being merely thematic, here, for example, the sole relationship in each proposed sequence to type 37 appearing to be 'bird(s) and cross', and if the argument of 'improving a dull design' is not sufficient to warrant any chronological deductions, where are we to turn?

Philip V. Hill tried to find parallels in art history for type 37 before accepting the Keary sequence, stating, when unable to do so, that the tendency toward revolving motifs was one of the most successful characteristics of Saxon art, as was the love of

¹ iii, pp. 91-2.

² i, p. 18.

³ *English Coins*, p. 6.

⁴ 'The Animal, "Anglo-Merovingian" and Miscel-

laneous series of Anglo-Saxon sceattas', *BNJ* (1952), pp. 10, 18.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 65-7, 94-100.

symmetry.¹ More generally, other numismatists have suggested that the sceatta die-engraver was also a silversmith, making decorative jewellery, bowls, boxes, plate, and the like, thus being open to many contemporary influences and ideas outside the range of coin designs, whether of sceattas or others. Here we are on the right track. Though little ornamental silverware or jewellery survives from late seventh- or eighth-century England, sufficient other clues are available to prove that many designs adapted to sceatta dies were first created for larger-scale ornament.



FIG. 2.

a. Gold disc-fibula from Schretzheim, Germany. First half of the seventh century. Diam. c. 4.1 mm. *Heimatmuseum, Dillingen, Germany.*

b. Gold pendant from Faversham, Kent. Seventh century. Diam. c. 3.2 mm. *B.M.*

Parallels in ornament for type 37, the end point of our various sequences and explanations, are to be found in designs of three, four, five, or more small birds wheeling around a central point, cross, or circle on disc ornaments popular in Lombard Italy, the Upper Rhine area, and Kent in the late sixth and seventh centuries (Fig. 1*b*, Fig. 2*a* and *b*). Two such parallel ornaments, one of sumptuous gold and cloisonné from Schretzheim (Germany), the other of pierced bronze from Bülach (Switzerland), offer the designs which most closely resemble the naturalistic birds of type 37.

The Schretzheim brooch (Fig. 2*a*), dated in the first half of the seventh century, belongs to a group of gold or silver-gilt disc brooches decorated with filigree wire, and a characteristically complicated system of cells, often with step-patterns and curved lines, holding flat-polished stones, which has numerous close analogies both north and south of the Alps and in Kent—for example the famous Kingston brooch.² This type of cloisonné art, known as ‘close cell work’, after its invention by the Lombards south of the Alps, was much used by the Germanic peoples to the north, from whom it was adopted by the English and Scandinavians.³

¹ Op. cit., p. 92.

² J. Werner, ‘Die byzantinische Scheibenfibel von Capua und ihre germanischen Verwandten’, *Acta Arch.* vii (1936), p. 62, fig. 6. For a colour plate of the Kingston brooch which has similar close cell work and

the same central boss as the Schretzheim fibula, see Baldwin Brown, op. cit., iii, pl. A.

³ J. Werner, op. cit., p. 60; and *Münzdatierte Austrasische Grabfunde* (Berlin, 1935), pp. 44, 45, 54.

The pierced bronze ornament from Bülach (Fig. 1*b*), used as a decoration on a leather or cloth bag hung from a woman's belt, comes from an Alamannic cemetery which was abandoned in the first decades of the eighth century. Still others of the same type with three to six birds, all of the mid- or late-seventh century, are known from Germany and Switzerland.¹ No ornament with the four naturalistic birds of type 37 has been found in Kent—that with three bird's heads in cloisonné and filigree work in the characteristic whorl pattern illustrated here (Fig. 2*b*) is the closest parallel²—but such can reasonably be supposed to have been known to the sceatta die-engraver. Accepted as the source for the type 37 sceatta design, these ornaments now reinforce sceatta distribution and other evidence for a close connection between south-eastern England and the Rhine trade route in the latter half of the seventh and the early eighth centuries.

This review of the evidence, together with the establishment of an independent source in Germanic ornamental metalwork for the motif of type 37, indicates that any part of dating systems, such as those of Rigold, Metcalf, or Hill, which are based on the two traditional typological sequences to type 37, can no longer be sustained. Since type 37 cannot be the terminal member of either sequence, none of the other elements of the sequences can now be dated relative to it, each of these types thus becoming again undated as before the sequence construction, subject to other evidence. It is less misleading to have neither order nor date for the members of the type 37 sequences, than to have a false order leading to unsupported positive dating. In the same way, we are free of any speculations about the inventiveness of the die-engraver or his creativity, since the motifs of the disc brooches would have been available to him for adaptation to sceattas without requiring these rare qualities.

Unfortunately, although all would like to see individual sceatta types dated, there are no typological sequences for English sceatta types, however common such sequences may be among Frisian types, which would achieve this end. Indeed, most sceatta motifs not clearly derived from Roman or Merovingian coins have parallels in Anglo-Saxon art, which make them independent not only of sceatta but also other coin parallels.

On grounds other than parallels in Anglo-Saxon art, numismatists have eliminated certain of the earlier accepted typological sequences for sceattas. For example, the obverse of type 37, two confronted heads separated by a cross with a three-pronged base, is neither a duplication of the type 36 obverse, a profile head with cross, nor a reduction of two figures standing in profile,³ but an imitation of the profile heads of both gold and silver coins in France, as well as the coins of the Visigothic kings, Egica and Wittiza (697–700).⁴ Another such sequence from a degraded profile head to 'Porcupine' to 'Plumed Bird'⁵ disappears with evidence that the 'Porcupine' type is Frisian, the 'Plumed Bird' English.⁶ Similarly, in a recent study of the 'Wolf' sceattas, D. M. Metcalf and D. R. Walker have found that the 'Wolf' types do not conform to the previous theory

¹ J. Werner, *Das alamannische Gräberfeld von Bülach* (Basel, 1953), pp. 15, 119, pl. II. 14.

² N. Åberg, *The Anglo-Saxons in England* (Uppsala, 1926), fig. 243; for other examples see fig. 265 and fig. 292, a gold pendant with four birds' heads from the Wieuwerd hoard, Friesland.

³ Brooke, *EC*, 8, no. 13; Hill, *op. cit.*, 10, n. 1.

⁴ Rigold, *op. cit.*, p. 23; M. Prou, *Les Monnaies mérovingiennes. Catalogue des monnaies françaises de*

la Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris, 1892), nos. 341, 342, 2115, pl. VI. 6.

⁵ Baldwin Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 95–8.

⁶ P. V. Hill, 'Anglo-Saxon and Frisian Sceattas in the Light of Frisian Hoards and Site-finds', *Jaarboek voor Munt- en Penningkunde*, xli (1954), p. 12; D. M. Metcalf, 'A Stylistic Analysis of the "Porcupine" Sceattas', *NC* vi (1966), pp. 196–7.

of successive issues from a single workshop, the 'Wolf and Twins' being the series prototype.¹ That all 'Wolf' types also have independent parallels in the Anglo-Saxon art of the eighth century supports this view.²

In the light of these warnings from numismatics and art history, it would seem safest that any ordering of sceatta types which relies solely on typological sequences, or 'degeneration' processes without intermediates, or 'creativity' or 'design improvement' hypotheses, be avoided because of the risk of misleading consequences for dating and other purposes. It is at best a harmless play of fancy, as Baldwin Brown remarked of 'Porcupines', to make such derivations as the 'Female Centaur' from the 'Two Emperors', or the 'Celtic Cross' from the 'Face in Shield'; but it is at worst imaginary chronology.

¹ D. M. Metcalf and D. R. Walker, 'The "Wolf" correspondences between Anglo-Saxon art and Sceattas', *BNJ* xxxvi (1967), pp. 11-28.

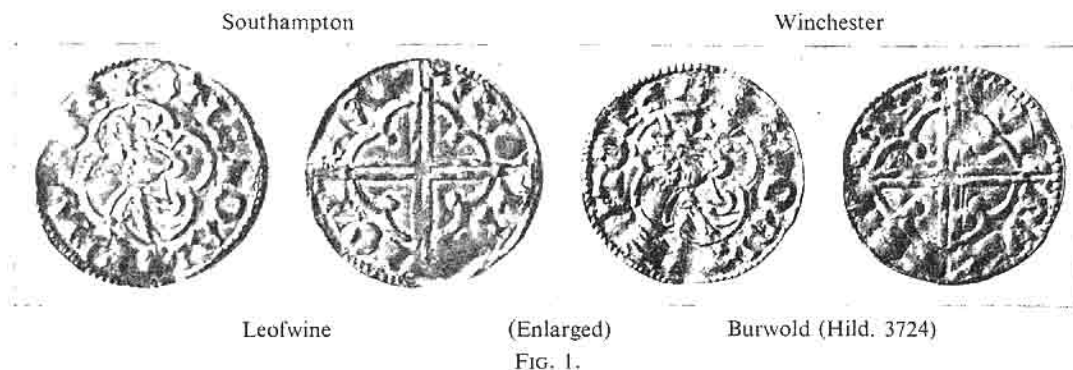
² My forthcoming book will discuss the many

sceatta design.

SOUTHAMPTON/WINCHESTER DIE-LINKS IN CANUTE'S QUATREFOIL TYPE

F. ELMORE JONES

Writing in the *Numismatic Chronicle* 1958¹ Mr. Dolley and Miss G. Van der Meer drew attention to a coin of Canute's Quatrefoil issue (the first substantive type of the reign) of Winchester style by the Hamtun moneyer Leofwine which they tentatively assigned to Southampton and in doing so they recorded their conviction that there was a moneyer of that name striking at *both* the Hamtun mints in this same type. In the absence of an obverse die-link to clinch the matter this could not be proved at that time. It is therefore gratifying to be able to record that this die-link *does* exist and that it is provided by the selfsame coin recorded by Mr. Dolley and Miss G. Van der Meer as having been in the cabinet of the late Mr. W. C. Wells which was lately in my collection and is now in the British Museum.



This coin is from the same obverse die (a very distinctive die with the legend starting at 6 o'clock) as Hildebrand 3724 by a Winchester moneyer who signs himself on this piece BURWOLD (Fig. 1).

Further corroboration is forthcoming from yet another coin of Leofwine of Winchester style lately in my collection. This is from the same obverse die as a coin of the undoubted Southampton moneyer Ælfwerd also lately in my collection and also now in the British Museum² (Pl. X, 1 and 2).

Some two years after writing his paper in the *Numismatic Chronicle* Mr. Dolley was confronted with an unpublished (and unique) coin of the same type and of the same distinctive Winchester style by the Hamtun moneyer Leofwold³ (Pl. X, 3). Both

¹ A joint paper by Mr. Dolley and Miss G. Van der Meer *NC* 1958, pp. 123-9, pl. ix, no. 3. The coin in question was lately in my collection ex Sotheby 8/5/1970 lot 57 and was lot 758 in my sale catalogue.

² So far as I am aware the coin of Ælfwerd is unique of these dies but there are two die-duplicate

coins of Leofwine in the Royal Danish collection, Copenhagen, which are from the same obverse die as mine but a different reverse die.

³ A coin in the Lodz museum in Poland which is fully discussed and illustrated by Mr. Dolley in *Seria Archeologiczna*, no. 5, Lodz, 1960, pp. 79-98.

Leofwold and Leofwine are undoubted Northampton moneyers in the preceding type (Æthelred II Last Small Cross type¹) and are almost equally certainly also *Northampton* moneyers in Canute's Quatrefoil type.

As Mr. Dolley points out in his paper on that coin, Leofwold is also a Winchester moneyer in this same (Quatrefoil) type, and I think he was right to attribute it to *Southampton* despite the strange coincidence implicit therein of there having been *two* moneyers of the same name striking in the same type at the two Hamtun mints. This coincidence and a possible alternative explanation is fully discussed by Mr. Dolley in his paper.

So far so good, but we are now confronted with yet another unpublished and seemingly unique Quatrefoil type coin of Winchester style by yet *another* Hamtun moneyer, Leofnoth, a moneyer who hitherto has always been assigned to Northampton² (Pl. X, 4). Leofnoth is *not* a Winchester moneyer in this type³ and apart from this one coin in Paris all his Quatrefoil type coins (although very few⁴) are from obverse dies of barbarous work which, if English and not Scandinavian imitations, are more likely to have emanated from Northampton than from Southampton where it would seem uniformity of style prevailed and where there were certainly five, and possibly as many as six, moneyers at work in this type namely Ælfwerd, Ælfsige, Eadwine, Leofwine, Leofwold (if rightly so attributed), and Siboda. All of these except Ælfwerd were also Winchester moneyers in this same type but only Leofwine is also a possible Southampton moneyer in Canute's next (Pointed Helmet) type. Both that moneyer and Leofnoth continue striking in that type at one Hamtun mint or the other but probably *not* at both. A coin of Leofwine of Pointed Helmet type lately in my collection (also from the late Mr. Wells's cabinet) is from the same obverse die as Hild. 1131 of Leofnoth of which there is a die duplicate in the British Museum (Pl. X, 5 and 6) and which, if it does nothing else, proves that those two moneyers must have been operating at the same Hamtun mint in that particular type. Unfortunately we have nothing to guide us as to the date of the closure of the Southampton mint nor can we be absolutely sure at which Hamtun mint Leofnoth and Leofwine were operating in Pointed Helmet type. However, the presumption is that coinage was continuous at Northampton and of the two mints Northampton seems by far the more probable. There are two coins of the type in the British Museum (one of each moneyer) and both attributed to Northampton. Two other moneyers, Cinsige and Godric, appear at Hamtun in that same type but seemingly very fleetingly and neither can be assigned to either mint with any reasonable degree of certainty. On stylistic grounds *all* the Hamtun coins of Pointed Helmet type which, incidentally, are extremely rare, could have been struck at almost any mint south of the Humber.

In this attempt to separate the coins of the two Hamtun mints I have been helped enormously by both members of the 'Anglo-Irish team working on the unpublished hoards in Sweden'⁵ who have very kindly furnished me with photographs of all the Quatrefoil type coins in the systematic collection in the Royal Swedish Cabinet without which I could not have found the obverse die-link between Leofwine (Hamtun) and

¹ For confirmation of this see *BNJ* xxxv (1966), p. 27 (Leofwine) and p. 31 (Leofwold).

² Unique coin in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

³ Hild. 3780 which purports to be of this mint and moneyer is a Scandinavian imitation—see *BNJ* xxx

(1962), p. 244 and pl. xiii.

⁴ Hild. nos. 1129, 1130, and 1130A.

⁵ See *BNJ* xxxv (1966), p. 25, for this reference of Mr. Dolley's to the work jointly carried out by himself and Mr. Stewart Lyon.

Burwold (Winchester); also with enlarged photographs of three crucial obverse die-links between Hamtun and Winchester found by the team on their visits to Stockholm and which I do not think have yet been published.

These die-links are:

HAMTUN moneyer	WINCHESTER moneyer
A. Ælfsige (Hild. 1116)	Ladmær (Hild. 3763)
B. Eadwine (Hild. 1125)	Ælfstan (Hild. 3677)
C. Siboda (Hild. 1149)	Wulfnoth (Hild. 3853)

and they prove that Ælfsige, Eadwine, and Siboda must have been moneyers at the Wessex Hamtun.



The moneyer Ælfwerd seems to have been in a different category to the other Southampton moneyers. He alone is not also a Winchester moneyer in this type nor, it would seem, do any of his coins die-link into Winchester. However, although his coins are very rare, they are far more numerous than those of any of the other Southampton moneyers. They are all of Winchester style (from at least 12 different pairs of dies) and I am sure Mr. Dolley is right to have always attributed him to Southampton. The one coin of Ælfwerd in the British Museum (*BMC* no. 237) is so attributed in the B.M. trays together

with the coins (one each) of Ælfsige and Siboda. The one coin of Leofwold, of faultless London style, is attributed to Northampton and the fact that there are only four Hamtun coins of the type in the National Collection reflects their rarity.

Having shown which moneyers may definitely be assigned to Southampton we are still left with the problem of which coins of the three Hamtun moneyers, Leofwine, Leofwold, and Leofnoth, *apart from any coins of Winchester style*, should be assigned to Northampton.

There can be no reasonable doubt that Leofwine and Leofwold, both Northampton moneyers in the preceding type, are also Northampton moneyers in Quatrefoil type and that their coins of faultless London style are rightly so attributed. The difficulty is, however, to decide whether their coins of other styles, and in particular those of Severn Valley style, automatically follow suit.

The complexity of the evidence of style¹ which at so many mints is such a useful guide to attribution in this type, will be apparent from the following analysis of the extraordinary admixture of style, *additional to London and Winchester*, which is found on the coins of those two moneyers.²

Leofwine. Severn Valley (1 die), Bath (1 die), Lincoln (1 die), barbarous (2 dies), anomalous (1 die).³

Leofwold. Severn Valley (2 dies).

The possibility has been suggested that the coins of Severn Valley style may have emanated from yet a *third* Hamtun mint⁴ but there is no corroborative evidence for this. Furthermore, it is a possibility which presupposes the extraordinary coincidence that there would have been two moneyers of the same name operating at the same time at no less than *three* Hamtun mints.

I had a Hamtun coin of Leofwold of Æthelred II Last Small Cross type with a cross before the face which certainly has the appearance of being of the style associated with Severn Valley mints in that type⁵ so that the appearance of the same style at Northampton in the succeeding type may not be so surprising as it seems.

For the present, at any rate, I feel that all the coins of Leofwold and Leofwine, including those of the latter which are from barbarous obverse dies but excluding those of Winchester style, should be attributed to Northampton.

This still leaves Leofnoth to be dealt with and this moneyer certainly poses a problem. It is one which is not made any the easier by the appearance of the unique coin of Winchester style in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

As already mentioned Leofnoth is not a Winchester moneyer in this type and apart from the one coin in Paris all his coins are from barbarous obverse dies which may not

¹ It will be remembered that it was style, and that alone, which led to the discoveries that 'Gothabyrig' die links with Exeter and 'Sithestbyrig' die links with Chichester thus resulting in the localization of those two enigmatic mints. (*BNJ* xxviii (1957), pp. 270-82).

² This results from an analysis of the coins in Hildebrand plus those in the Royal Danish Cabinet. Unpublished Scandinavian hoards might well reveal greater numbers but I know of no additions to the list in this country.

³ *SCBI* Copenhagen, 1191, which has a cross before the king's face as is found on most Northampton coins of the preceding type (Æthelred II, L.S.C.).

⁴ A suggestion put forward by Mr. Stuart Kinsey in *SNC* June 1955, cc. 269/272 where a number of possible candidates are suggested of which Wolverhampton, which geographically would suit very well, is considered the most likely.

⁵ My sale Catalogue lot 597 and doubtless a die duplicate of Hild. 1264.

be English. As to whether they *are* English or Scandinavian must remain an open question, at any rate for the present.

A case can be made out for either alternative but perhaps the most telling argument in favour of their being English is that the reverse dies are of normal English style and that the same barbarous obverse die is used by both Leofnoth and Leofwine with the Hamtun mint-signature.¹

It is against this complex background that the unique coin of Leofnoth of *Winchester* style must be considered. There are two possible explanations for it but neither is particularly convincing. One is the assumption that there were *three* moneyers of the same names (Leofnoth, Leofwine, and Leofwold) operating at both Hamtun mints at precisely the same time. The other is that this unique coin, unlike the unique coin of Leofwold which Mr. Dolley has assigned to Southampton,² could have come from one of the few parcels of Winchester style dies which, as Mr. Dolley has pointed out, we know *did* find their way to mints far removed from Wessex such as Oxford, Aylesbury, and as far north as Leicester where the eleven coins listed in Hildebrand reveal the following admixture of styles: Winchester 5, Lincoln 4, and York 2.

I personally favour this latter theory and, at any rate for the time being, I feel that Leofnoth should be attributed to Northampton (only) even if this has to be provisional.

It may seem inconsistent, as of course it is, to attribute one of these unique Hamtun coins of Winchester style to Southampton and the other to Northampton but, as already mentioned, there is a distinction between the two; Leofwold is also a Winchester moneyer in this same type whereas Leofnoth is not.

To sum up therefore my suggested division of the Hamtun moneyers in this type, and it must be stressed in this type only, is:

Northampton. Leofnoth, Leofwine, Leofwold.

Southampton. Ælfsige, Ælfwerd, Eadwine, Leofwine, Leofwold, Siboda.

As previously mentioned, it may be assumed with reasonable certainty that Leofnoth and Leofwine are both Northampton moneyers in the succeeding (Pointed Helmet) type. Also that the moneyer Ælfwine of whose coins there is virtually an unbroken run from Canute's third and last (Small Cross) type to the ninth (Facing Small Cross) type of Edward the Confessor is also a moneyer of Northampton (*only*) but no prediction is possible as to which mint the other two Hamtun moneyers of Canute's reign (Cinsige and Godric in Pointed Helmet type) should be assigned. If this could be determined with reasonable certainty we should be able to deduce the date of the closure of the Southampton mint and so write the final chapter on this problem of the separation of the coins of the two mints. This work, so ably pioneered by Mr. Dolley, already covers the reign of Æthelred II³ but it still remains to be finished.

Mr. Blunt and Mr. Dolley have dealt with the pre-979 period⁴ and it is the purpose of this paper to carry the work a stage further from the point to which Mr. Dolley has taken it but without making any claim to finality. It will be apparent that there are a number of critical problems still to be resolved of which certainly the

¹ Leofnoth—Hild. 1129. *SCBI* Copenhagen 1178/9; Leofwine *SCBI* Copenhagen 1191.

² In the Polish paper cited above.

³ Further Southampton/Winchester die-links in the

reign of Æthelred II, *BNJ* xxxv (1966), pp. 25–33, and previously in *SNC* 1955, cc. 159–61.

⁴ In *Mints, Dies, and Currency*, dedicated to the memory of Albert Baldwin.

most crucial is the determination of the date of the final closure of the Southampton mint.

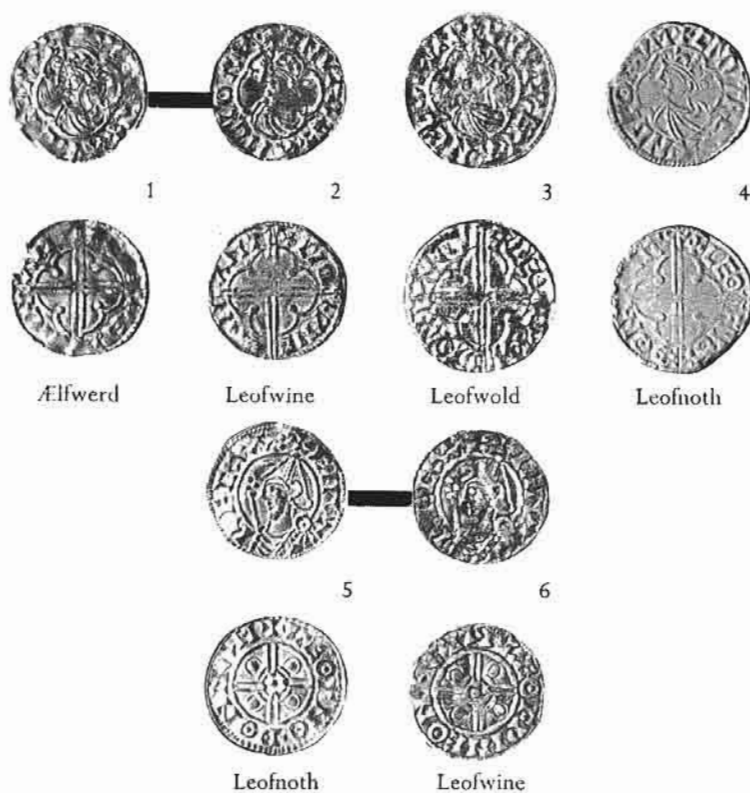
The evidence of Florence of Worcester that Canute first received formal recognition as king of all England at Southampton is accepted by historians and it is interesting to speculate whether there could be any connection between that and the apparent upsurge of coining activity there in the early years of his reign.

The rarity of the coins of both mints is such that it is difficult to assess their relative output. The evidence certainly points to output at Southampton outstripping that at Northampton in the run of Quatrefoil type, possibly even to the same extent as the disparity in the number of the moneyers of the two mints would seem to imply, but just how long this lasted and just when the mint there finally closed down it is still impossible to say.

One day perhaps the evidence which is now lacking may come to light and then, and only then, will it be possible to write the final chapter of the work begun by Mr. Dolley some fifteen years ago, a task which, as he has said, underlines the urgent need for a drastic reappraisal of the late Mr. W. C. Wells's work on these two mints.

My thanks are due to the authorities of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, the Royal Swedish Coin Cabinet in Stockholm, and the Royal Danish Coin Cabinet in Copenhagen for kindly supplying photographs of the coins in their collections and for permission to reproduce photographs of several of them here.

I am especially grateful to Mr. Stewart Lyon for his very helpful advice when I first drafted this paper in 1966 and without which by no means all the vital Southampton/Winchester obverse die-links in the Quatrefoil issue could have been recorded here. This does not, however, imply that Mr. Lyon is necessarily in agreement with all the opinions expressed in this paper; those opinions and any conclusions to be drawn therefrom are mine and mine alone. It will be apparent that this paper has been inspired by a study of Mr. Dolley's writings on the subject of the two Hamtun mints and I gratefully acknowledge the interest he has shown and the encouragement he has given me in its preparation.



COINS OF NORTH/SOUTHAMPTON IN CANUTE QUATREFOIL AND POINTED HELMET TYPES



HENRY IV—HEAVY NOBLE



ANCIENT BRITISH COINS—MOSSOP

ROBERT AUSTEN AND THE BANK OF ENGLAND COLLECTION

H. E. PAGAN

IN the library of the Heberden Coin Room in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, there is a copy of an Act of Parliament of special interest for the numismatist.¹ The Act is dated 9 June 1812 and its title is 'An Act to vest the Coins and Medals given by the Will of *Robert Austen* Esquire deceased, in the Governor and Company of the Bank of England'. Its importance will emerge in the course of this discussion. It is convenient to begin by summarizing its content. It states that Robert Austen, of Shalford House, Shalford, Surrey, directed in his will dated 26 December 1790 that certain of his possessions, including his 'Medals and Coins', should 'be considered as Heir Looms and go with his Mansion House at Shalford to his Children and their Issue'; that Austen died on 3 November 1797; and that on 16 April 1812 Austen's son had concluded a provisional agreement with the Governor and Company of the Bank to sell Austen's coins and medals to them for the sum of £2,650. Such a transaction would be in breach of the provisions of Austen's will and the proceedings had therefore to be regularized by Act of Parliament. The operative clauses of the Act follow and they simply provide this parliamentary sanction. Right at the end of the Act comes something more exciting. It had been thought necessary to have the collection inspected by experts so that a fair price could be put on it. The experts chosen were Taylor Combe of the British Museum and the veteran dealer Richard Miles, both numismatists of the greatest distinction; and what appears at the end of the Act is the list of the collection they drew up when making their valuation. It is not a very detailed list, but it does give the denomination and issuer of each coin and Combe and Miles give the occasional additional detail when the coin is of some importance. It is certainly detailed enough to show that Austen's was a collection of real distinction, particularly strong on Roman gold and English gold and silver.

Of the origins of the collection not much can be said. A certain amount of information about Austen's background and career is available.² Born Robert Stoffold, second son of William Stoffold, of Albury, Surrey, about the year 1740, he was adopted at an early age by a Mr. Robert Austen of Shalford, who had married his aunt.³ He assumed the surname and arms of Austen and eventually inherited the Austen estate at Shalford. He was by profession a solicitor.⁴ He is mentioned several times in the diary of his

¹ This copy formerly belonged to Sir John Evans. It carries occasional annotations in pencil by someone (not Evans) who had checked the list of coins attached to the Act against the coins themselves.

² A collection of papers relating to the Austen family of Shalford is deposited in the Muniment Room, Castle Arch, Guildford, Surrey, but it contains nothing obviously relevant to the present inquiry (information kindly supplied by Miss G. M. A. Beck, Archives Assistant).

³ For the relationship see Manning and Bray, *History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey*, ii (1809),

pp. 100-1.

⁴ According to the editor of Bray's diary (below) Austen was articled to Mr. Martyr, a Guildford solicitor, and 'afterwards purchased a Clerkship in the Six Clerks' Office in Chancery'. These clerkships were invariably held by solicitors. Austen was admitted to the Middle Temple on 28 Oct. 1763; is described as 'of the Temple' on his marriage in 1772 (*GM* 1772, p. 151); and was living in Gower Street at the time of his death (*GM* 1797, p. 987, where he is described as 'F.A.S. 1779', i.e. Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries since 1779).

contemporary and friend William Bray, F.S.A. (1736–1832), the historian of Surrey, extracts from which have been published in *Surrey Archaeological Collections*.¹ One of the diary entries is perhaps worth repeating here: '1774. June 24. Rode with Mr. Penneck and Mr. Austen to Mr. Walpole's, Strawberry Hill; saw that; dined at the "Toy" Hampton.' More strictly relevant is the fact that 'Robertus Austen arm., de Shalford in com. Surr.' figures in a list of William Hunter's numismatic acquaintances that appears in Charles Combe's *Nummorum Veterum Populorum et Urbium qui in Museo Gulielmi Hunter asservantur Descriptio*, published in 1782.² He also figures in a list of the principal collectors of the day given in Pinkerton's *Essay on Medals*;³ is mentioned in passing both by Ruding⁴ and by the mid nineteenth-century numismatist J. B. Bergne;⁵ and is noted as a buyer in the marked sale catalogue of one coin sale of the period, that of the collection of John Ives, F.S.A. (Langford 13–14.2.1777), when he purchased on the first day lots 6, 11, 15, 27, and 33 and on the second day lot 49. He may of course have bought any number of coins at other sales through an agent; the agent's name and not his would appear in a marked catalogue. One acquisition by him outside the sale room is on record: his Petition Crown came from the collection of David Alves Rebello, a city merchant prominent in the numismatic world towards the end of the eighteenth century.⁶ Nothing otherwise is known of his collecting activities.⁷

The fate of his collection is easier to follow. After it passed into the possession of the Bank it more or less disappeared from view until late in the nineteenth century. When it reappeared it was as part of a large general collection of coins presented by the Bank to the British Museum in 1877;⁸ the coins that had belonged to Austen were not then distinguished from other coins that the Bank had acquired over the years, but they certainly figured in the transaction. The collection was then broken up. The Bank coins were not all of equal importance and the Governor and Company of the Bank, understanding that the museum would not require the collection in its entirety, had given the trustees permission to dispose of such coins as were surplus to their requirements and use the proceeds for the benefit of departmental funds.⁹ As a result the coins that had once belonged to Austen were divided several ways. Some were incorporated in the museum collection; others were dispersed at various sales of Bank duplicates held at Sotheby's in 1877 and 1878;¹⁰ and others again may have been included in a parcel of Roman coins sold by the museum to a dealer by private treaty. It follows from this that there are no coins that are today associated with Austen. Those in the British Museum and those of the dispersed duplicates now traceable carry the provenance 'Bank of

¹ SAC xlvii (1938), pp. 26–58.

² Combe, op. cit., introduction p. x.

³ *Essays on Medals*, 2nd edn. (1789), i, p. 11.

⁴ Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain and its Dependencies*, 3rd edn. (1840), i, pp. 123 and 124.

⁵ NC xvi (1853–4), p. 137; NC xvii (1854–5), p. 23.

⁶ NC xvi loc. cit. The history of the Rebello collection is obscure. The bulk of the coins collected by David Alves Rebello seem to have passed to a certain Isaac Alves Rebello who disposed of them early in the nineteenth century to a consortium of collectors which included Richard Miles. A coin of Eadweard the Elder once in the Rebello collection is now in Copenhagen: Copenhagen Sylloge 687 ex Montagu

(1895) 596 ex Marsham (1888) 159 ex Rebello (Ruding, op. cit. ii, p. 298 and iii, pl. 28, no. 2).

⁷ He was probably a customer of the dealer John White. See remarks on coin 29 below.

⁸ The collection had been for some years on loan to the Department of Coins and Medals. The department was in 1877 engaged on a thorough overhaul of its holdings and it seems clear that the Keeper of Coins and Medals had suggested to the Bank that the ownership of the collection should now be formally transferred to the museum.

⁹ Details of the transaction are given in the Trustees' Minutes for 1877.

¹⁰ Sotheby 13.7.1877 (English); 13.2.1878 (Greek); 8–9.4.1878 (Medals and Miscellaneous).

England Gift 1877'—for they have not been separated from those in the Bank collection which did not derive from Austen—and this Bank provenance has effectively obscured their true history.

So much by way of an introduction. It remains to present the results of an investigation into the fate of one particular group of coins which once belonged to Austen. It happens that in at least one respect Austen's collection as listed in 1812 corresponds exactly to the known content of the Bank collection in 1877. In 1877 the Bank collection contained 67 coins which fell under the general heading Anglo-Saxon: 35 retained by the British Museum (which are all listed in *BMC Anglo-Saxon Series*) and 32 described in the catalogue of a duplicate sale held at Sotheby's on 13 July 1877. Both in number and in identity these neatly match the sixty-seven Anglo-Saxon coins listed by Combe and Miles.¹ This means that between 1812 and 1877 the Bank authorities made no additions at all to this part of Austen's collection and that if an Anglo-Saxon coin's pedigree can be traced back to the Bank collection it must once have belonged to Austen. The discovery is of some importance. It enables the numismatist to say that about forty interesting coins known today must have come to light before Austen's death in 1797 and he can in consequence discuss with much more confidence questions that arise about their attribution, authenticity, and likely connection with hoards; when their history could not be taken back before 1877 the problems the coins present could not be seen in so sharp a focus. It also raises the possibility that similar investigations into other portions of Austen's collection would yield similar results. It is unlikely that in other series the Bank authorities were quite so content to leave Austen's collection as it stood; but it seems that it could well be possible to work out the nature and scope of the additions they made and, in the light of this, trace many other coins back to the end of the eighteenth century.

A detailed analysis of the sixty-seven coins involved follows. The entries in Combe and Miles's list are reproduced in italics and a full identification of each coin is given underneath. Points of interest about the collection are noted in passing.

Two stycas copper

1. Eanred. Moneyer Fordred. Sotheby 13.7.1877 lot 81b bt. Gray = Glasgow Sylloge 152, 153, or 155 ex Coats.
2. Æthelred. Moneyer Eardwulf. Sotheby 13.7.1877 lot 81c bt. Gray = Glasgow Sylloge 247 or 251 ex Coats.

Eight sceattas silver

3. *BMC* type 2a. Sotheby 13.7.1877 lot 78b bt. Lincoln.
4. *BMC* type 2a. Sotheby 13.7.1877 lot 79a bt. Lincoln.
5. *BMC* type 5. Sotheby 13.7.1877 lot 78a bt. Lincoln.
6. *BMC* type 27b. Sotheby 13.7.1877 lot 78c bt. Lincoln.
7. *BMC* type 27b. Sotheby 13.7.1877 lot 79b bt. Lincoln.
8. *BMC* type 27b. Sotheby 13.7.1877 lot 79c bt. Lincoln.
9. 'Æthilræd'. Degraded head/legend. Sotheby 13.7.1877 lot 80 bt. Webster.
10. Eadberht (Northumbria). Legend/quadruped. Sotheby 13.7.1877 lot 81a bt. Gray = Glasgow Sylloge 136 ex Coats.

Coins of Eadberht of Northumbria and sceattas of these *BMC* types were common in eighteenth-century collections. The coin of 'Æthilræd' is by contrast of extreme rarity; only nine specimens of the

¹ One unimportant discrepancy is discussed in the remarks on coins 22 and 23 below.

type are known today.¹ If Austen's coin is one of these it is likely to be that in the possession of Cdr. R. P. Mack, which comes from the collection of William Brice, formed on the London market before 1887.

One Cuthred

11. Cuthred. Bust/cross and wedges. Moneyer Sigeberht. Sotheby 13.7.1877 lot 82 bt. Lincoln.

Two Offa—with head

12. Offa. Bust/serpent. Moneyer Celhard. *BMC* 10 ex Bank of England 1877.

13. Offa. Bust/name in angles of cross. Moneyer Eadhun. *BMC* 15 ex Bank of England 1877.

Two Cænwulf—with heads

14. Cænwulf. Bust/cross moline. Moneyer Oba. Sotheby 13.7.1877 lot 83a bt. Verity.

15. Cænwulf. Bust/cross flory. Moneyer Werheard. *BMC* 87 ex Bank of England 1877.

One Cænwulf—without head

16. Cænwulf. M/tribrach. Moneyer Ethelmod. *BMC* 97 ex Bank of England 1877.

One Berhtwulf

17. Berhtwulf. Bust/Alpha-omega monogram. Moneyer Sigeheah. *BMC* 136 ex Bank of England 1877.

Two Burgred

18. Burgred. Lunette type, no further details. Moneyer Cenred. Sotheby 13.7.1877 lot 83b bt. Verity.

19. Burgred. Lunette type C. Moneyer Ciallaf. *BMC* 189 ex Bank of England 1877.

Two St. Eadmund, King of the East Angles

20. Eadmund. Cross pattee, crescents/cross pattee, pellets. Moneyer Ethelwulf. *BMC* 75 ex Bank of England 1877.

21. Eadmund. A/cross pattee, pellets. Moneyer Sigereð. Sotheby 13.7.1877 lot 84 bt. Lincoln.

These were coins struck during Eadmund's reign (855–870), not coins of St. Eadmund memorial type. Coins of memorial type were not common in the eighteenth century and their absence from Austen's collection is not particularly surprising.

Two Æthelstan Do.

22. Æthelstan. A/cross pattee, pellets. Moneyer Torhthelm. *BMC* 17 ex Bank of England 1877.

23. Æthelweard. Alpha-omega monogram/cross pattee, pellets. Moneyer Dudda. *BMC* 27 ex Bank of England 1877.

Where Combe and Miles list two coins of Æthelstan, the bank collection in fact contained one coin of Æthelstan of East Anglia (c. 825–c. 840) and one coin of his successor Æthelweard (c. 840–c. 855). The discrepancy is not disturbing. Coins of Æthelweard closely resemble those of Æthelstan (they were struck at the same mint from dies cut by the same engraver) and it is likely that Combe and Miles simply failed to read the obverse legend of the second coin with sufficient attention. They placed these coins after those of Eadmund in their list because they supposed that their issuer was Æthelstan II of East Anglia (Guthrum) (878–90).

One Ciolwulf

24. Ciolwulf I. Bust/cross, crescents in angles. Moneyer Ealhstan. *BMC* 105 ex Bank of England 1877.

Combe and Miles supposed this to be a coin of Ciolwulf II (874–7).

One Egbert—with the head

25. Egberht. Bust/monogram. Moneyer Tilwine. *BMC* 10 ex Bank of England 1877.

Two Ethelwulf

26. Æthelwulf. Cross/cross, no further details. Moneyer Dun. Sotheby 13.7.1877 lot 86 bt. Verity.

27. Æthelwulf. Bust/cross, two limbs moline. Moneyer Ethelhere. *BMC* 62 ex Bank of England 1877.

¹ R. I. Page, 'Ralph Thoresby's Runic Coins', *BNJ* xxxiv (1965), pp. 30–1.

Two Æthelbert

28. Æthelberht. Bust/floreate cross. Moneyer Oshere. *BMC* 63 ex Bank of England 1877.

29. Æthelberht. Bust/name on cross. Moneyer Hunred. *BMC* 38 ex Bank of England 1877.

It is satisfactory to establish that *BMC* 63 has an eighteenth-century provenance. Coins of this type are scarce today by comparison with coins of Name on Cross type, but in collections formed before the discovery of a hoard of coins of the latter type at Dorking in 1817 the two types tend to be equally represented.

In addition to these two coins of Æthelberht there was at one time in Austen's collection a coin of Name on Cross type that purported to be of Æthelberht's brother Æthelbald (king in Wessex 855–60). It is mentioned in a passage in Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain* which is worth quoting in full.¹

Æthelbald. Of this monarch, who ascended the throne upon the death of his father in 857, no money is now known to exist. But in a set of plates of Anglo-Saxon coins, which was engraved by Hall, under the direction, as it is believed, of Mr. John White, of Newgate-street, a penny is ascribed to him. In type it is exactly similar to No. 1 of Ethelwulf in plate xiv., and has on its sides the following legend: obverse, AETHEL BALD REX.—reverse, BEAHMUND MONETA. To this engraving the late Dr. Combe has referred in his Ms., and has marked the coin as being in the cabinet of Mr. Austin, where he assured me that he saw it, and had no doubt of its being a genuine coin. The coin, however, is not now in Mr. Austin's collection, which was carefully examined by Mr. Taylor Combe. I have, notwithstanding, given the above account of this remarkable penny, because from Dr. Combe's accuracy I am convinced he could not have been mistaken as to the existence of the coin; nor is it probable that the correctness of his eye could have been deceived by a forgery. The insertion of this description may possibly lead to the discovery of this valuable relique of the Anglo-Saxon mints.

Ruding's reference to an examination of the collection by Taylor Combe is presumably a reference to the operations of Combe and Miles in 1812. Coins of Æthelbald are still unknown and it is hardly conceivable that Austen's coin can have been genuine. Its association with John White of Newgate Street does nothing to advance its claims to authenticity and in fact rather suggests the character of the piece involved. It was in all probability a genuine coin of Name on Cross type of Æthelwulf or Æthelberht with the obverse legend tooled. Collections formed in the second half of the eighteenth century habitually contain coins tooled in this manner—there were at least two others in Austen's collection (nos. 31 and 48 below)—and White happens to be the individual suspected of responsibility for this tooling.² It is likely, too, that the tooling of the legend of a coin that was otherwise genuine would have been the only kind of falsification that could have deceived a numismatist of the calibre of Dr. Combe.

Two Æthelred

30. Æthelred. Lunette type A. Moneyer Elbere. Sotheby 13.7.1877 lot 87a bt. Lincoln.

31. (Burgred). Lunette type A. Moneyer Diga. *BMC* Æthelred 12 ex Bank of England 1877.

The second coin is listed in *BMC* under Æthelred, but is a coin of Burgred with the beginning of the obverse legend tooled to give +AEDL— instead of BVRG—.³

One Ælfred—with the head—fine silver

32. Ælfred. Bust/LONDONIA monogram. Moneyer Ælfstan. *BMC* 114 ex Bank of England 1877.

This is perhaps the most important coin in the Austen collection. Now that its history can be taken back to the eighteenth century it may be identified as the specimen formerly in the collection of Dr. Richard Mead which is illustrated by Pegge, *Assemblage*, p. 98. It formed lot 5 of the Mead sale

¹ Ruding, op. cit., i, p. 124.

² There is a convenient summary of the literature on White in an article by C. E. Blunt and J. D. A. Thompson, 'Forgery in the Anglo-Saxon Series', *BNJ* xxviii, pt. i (1955), pp. 18–25. In recent years it has become clearer that White specialized in the tool-

ing of genuine coins rather than in the production of struck or cast forgeries (cf. *BNJ* xxxiv (1965), p. 52).

³ This and another soi-disant coin of Æthelred with tooled obverse legend were condemned, *BNJ* xxxiv (1965), p. 15.

(Langford 11–19.2.1755), of which there is an excellent catalogue, *Museum Meadianum*, drawn up by the Revd. George North, a numismatist of considerable talent.

One Æfred—with the head—bad silver

33. Ælfred. Lunette type, no further details. Moneyer Sigestef. Sotheby 13.7. 1877 lot 87b bt. Lincoln.

One Eadward the elder—with the head

34. Eadward. Bust/two-line type. Moneyer Wulfred. *BMC* 91 ex Bank of England 1877.

One Eadward the elder—without the head

35. Eadward. Two-line type. Moneyer Æthered. Sotheby 13.7.1877 lot 88 bt. Verity.

Two Æthelstan—with the head

36. Æthelstan. Bust/cross. Moneyer Lifinc. *BMC* 149 ex Bank of England 1877.

37. Æthelstan. Bust/cross crosslet. Moneyer Einard. *BMC* 152 ex Bank of England 1877.

One Æthelstan—without the head

38. Æthelstan. Circumscription type, rosettes. Moneyer Deorulf, Chester. *BMC* 45 ex Bank of England 1877.

One Eadmund—with the head

39. Eadmund. Bust/cross. Moneyer Clac. *BMC* 150 ex Bank of England 1877.

Two Eadmund—without the head

40. Eadmund. Two-line type. Moneyer Mana. Sotheby 13.7.1877 lot 89b bt. Gardyne.

41. Eadmund. Two-line type. Moneyer Thrmode. Sotheby 13.7.1877 lot 89a bt. Gardyne.

One Eadred—with the head

42. Eadred. Bust/cross. Moneyer Wilfred. Sotheby 13.7.1877 lot 90 bt. Gardyne = Sotheby 19–21.12. 1911 (Gardyne collection) lot 199.

One Eadwig

43. Eadwig. Two-line type. Moneyer Baldwine, Bedford. *BMC* 1 ex Bank of England 1877.

One Eadgar

44. Eadgar. Reform type. Moneyer Æthelred, London. *BMC* 39 ex Bank of England 1877.

One St. Peter

45. St. Peter (York). Two-line type/cross. *BMC* 1124 ex Bank of England 1877.

One Sithric

46. Sihtric *Silkbeard*. Imitation of *Long Cross* Æthelred. Reverse legend HVIT MO DIFLMAN. Sotheby 13.7.1877 lot 96 bt. Lincoln.

One Anlaf—reverse the Raven

47. Anlaf Guthfrithssohn. Raven/cross. Moneyer Athelferth. Sotheby 13.7.1877 lot 85 bt. Lincoln.

One Eric

48. (Eadred). Two-line type. Moneyer Hunred. *BMC* Northumbria 1106 ex Bank of England 1877.

This is a coin of Eadred with the obverse legend tooled to give ERICVS REX A instead of EADRED REX A. Recognition of it as a tooled forgery enables Hunred to be removed from the list of Eric's moneyers (now reduced in this type to Ingelgar, Radulf, and Ulfelm); and removes the need to explain the abnormality of the obverse legend. No genuine coins of Eric carry his name in a Latinized form. I am indebted to Mr. C. E. Blunt for the suggestion that the coin might prove to be a tooled forgery; and to Dr. J. P. C. Kent for confirming this suspicion.

Three Eadward the Martyr

- 49. Eadward. Small Cross type. Moneyer Grind, Lincoln. Sotheby 13.7.1877 lot 93 bt. Gray = Glasgow Sylloge 744 ex Coats.
- 50. Eadward. Small Cross type. Moneyer Ælfwald, Stamford. Sotheby 13.7.1877 lot 91 bt. Gray = Glasgow Sylloge 759 ex Coats.
- 51. Eadward. Small Cross type. Moneyer Wulfstan, Stamford. Sotheby 13.7.1877 lot 94 bt. Gray = Glasgow Sylloge 762 ex Coats.

These coins must derive from the same find as the long run of coins of this period and region acquired by Austen's friend William Hunter and now also in Glasgow.

Four Æthelred the Second

- 52. Æthelred. First Hand type. Moneyer Æthered, Lydford. *BMC* 281 ex Bank of England 1877.
- 53. Æthelred. Long Cross type. Moneyer Godwine, Canterbury. *BMC* 28 ex Bank of England 1877.
- 54. Æthelred. Long Cross type. Moneyer Ælfryd, London. *BMC* 228 ex Bank of England 1877.
- 55. Æthelred. Helmet type. Moneyer Godman, London. *BMC* 271 ex Bank of England 1877.

Two Canute

- 56. Cnut. Quatrefoil type. Moneyer Eadnoth, London. *BMC* 361 ex Bank of England 1877.
- 57. Cnut. Small Cross type. Moneyer Cnut, Lincoln. *BMC* 330 ex Bank of England 1877.

One Harold I

- 58. Harold I. Jewel Cross type. Moneyer Dufacan, York. *BMC* 25 ex Bank of England 1877.

Four Edward the Confessor

- 59. Eadward. Long Cross type. Moneyer Lifinc, London. Sotheby 13.7.1877 lot 94d bt. Lincoln.
- 60. Eadward. Pointed Helmet type. Moneyer Stircol, York. Sotheby 13.7.1877 lot 94b bt. Lincoln.
- 61. Eadward. Hammer Cross type. Moneyer Osmaer, Bath. Sotheby 13.7.1877 lot 94a bt. Lincoln.
- 62. Eadward. Facing Head/Small Cross type. Moneyer Swartcol, York. Sotheby 13.7.1877 lot 94c bt. Lincoln.

Five Harold the Second

- 63. Harold II. Pax type. Moneyer Godwine, Chichester. *BMC* 6 ex Bank of England 1877.
- 64. Harold II. Pax type. Moneyer Wulgar, London. Sotheby 13.7.1877 lot 95a bt. Webster.
- 65. Harold II. Pax type. Moneyer Leofwine, Stamford. *BMC* 86 ex Bank of England 1877.
- 66. Harold II. Pax type. Moneyer Ælfwold, Wilton. Sotheby 13.7.1877 lot 95b bt. Webster.
- 67. Harold II. Pax type. Moneyer Swearling, Winchester. *BMC* 118 ex Bank of England 1877.

A SHORT CROSS HOARD FROM WREXHAM

J. M. LEWIS

IN 1926 Mr. Harold Williams of Acton, Wrexham, and his brother (then schoolboys) were helping to level the soil in the garden of their newly built house at 312 Chester Road, Wrexham, when, four or five feet below ground level, in a sand pit that had been dug to provide sand for the building, they found a pottery vessel containing a quantity of silver coins. The finds were shown to several local antiquarians, but do not seem to have aroused much interest, as they remained at the house until the Williams family sold it in 1966. By that time the find had come to be regarded as part of the property, and passed with the house into the hands of the new owner, Mr. John Hall, who early in 1969 took it to the Grosvenor Museum, Chester. Events were then put in train which led to an inquest being held on the coins at Wrexham on 20 June 1969, when the jury surprisingly found that the find was not treasure trove. Mr. Williams, as the surviving finder, subsequently sold the sixty-eight coins that had been the subject of the inquest, together with the pot, to the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff (Acc. No. 69.211).

These sixty-eight coins do not constitute the complete hoard as originally found. Over the years an unknown number of coins had been dispersed as souvenirs among the Williams family and their friends. To date only three of these dispersed coins have been recovered and acquired by the National Museum (Acc. No. 69.301). Another half-dozen or so were sold to a dealer after the inquest, but they were quickly resold so that there is no record of them. Together these make a known total of about seventy-seven. Mr. Williams is of the opinion that the original total may have been in the region of 120. The question whether the remaining coins can be taken as a representative sample will be considered below.

The coins were found $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles north of the centre of Wrexham, about 50 yards east of the Chester road at Nat. Grid 34/3384 5311. This spot is some 30 feet inside the boundary of the parish of Wrexham Regis. The area between the town and the parish boundary was occupied in medieval times by the open town fields of Wrexham.¹ The find-site is on a gentle north-facing slope that dips into a hollow to the north, along which the parish boundary runs. This hollow is now drained and cultivated, but in the eighteenth century the enclosure in which the find occurred and the one adjoining it on the east were known as 'the Two Werns' (*gwern*—marsh), while in 1620 the corresponding area on the west side of the Chester road was known as *Gwaun y terfyn* (the Boundary Moor). It is therefore most unlikely that the find spot was occupied by cultivated strips in medieval times; rather it occupied a strip of waste, outside the cultivated area, which formed the northern edge of the parish. A place such as this, near the high road, would no doubt have been a suitable place for concealment.

¹ A. N. Palmer, *History of the Town of Wrexham* (1893), pp. 100-4.

A. ENGLISH SHORT CROSS PENNIES

<i>Mint and moneyer</i>	<i>Class</i>	<i>Rev. inscription</i>	<i>Weight</i>		
			<i>Grams</i>	<i>(Grains)</i>	
Canterbury					
1. Goldwine	IV	+GOLDWIE.ON.CAN	1.33	(20.5)	
2. Hernaud	IV	+ERNAUD.ON.CA	1.21	(18.7)	
3. Ioan	VII	+IOAN ON CATER	1.43	(22.1)	
4. Ioan Chic-	VII	+IOAN CHIC ON CA	1.36	(21.0)	
5. Ioan Fr	VII	+IOAN.F.R.ON CANT	1.43	(22.1)	
6.	VII	+IOAN F.R ON CAN	1.35	(20.9)	
7.	VII	+IOAN F R ON CAN	1.23	(19.0)	Chevron-barred A Double-struck
8. Iohan M	Vb	+IO//N.M.ON.CA	1.45	(22.4)	
9. Meinir	IV	+MEINIR.ON.CAN	1.33	(20.5)	
10. Nichole	VII	+NICHOLE ON CAN	1.45	(22.4)	
11.	VII	+NICHOLE ON CA	1.16	(17.9)	
12.	VII	+NICHOLE ON CA	1.51	(23.3)	
13.	VII	///OLE ON CA	1.46	(22.5)	
14.	VIII	+NICHOLE ON CANT	1.44	(22.2)	
15. Norman	VII	+NORMAN ON CAN	1.15	(17.8)	
16. Osmund	VII	+OSMVNDE ON CA	1.43	(22.1)	
17. Roger	VI	+ROGER.ON.CANTE	1.48	(22.9)	
18.	VII	+ROGER ON CAN	1.45	(22.4)	
19. Roger of R	VII	+///ER.OF.R.ON CA	1.47	(22.7)	
20. Salemun	VII	+SALEMVN ON CA	1.12	(17.2)	
21. Simon	Vb	+SIMON.ON.CAN	1.42	(21.9)	
22.	VII	+SIM///ON.CANTE	1.34	(20.7)	
23. Tomas	VII	+TOMA//N CANT	1.44	(22.2)	
24.	VII	+TOMAS ON CANT	1.35	(20.9)	
25.	VII	+TOMAS ON CANT	1.13	(17.5)	
26. Ulard	IV	+VLARD.ON.CAN	1.34	(20.7)	
27. Willem	VII	+///EM ON CAN	1.33	(20.5)	
London					
28. Adam	VII	+AD///N LVNDE.	1.46	(22.5)	
29.	VII	/DAM ON LV//	1.35	(20.9)	
30.	VII	+//AM ON LVNDE	1.42	(21.9)	
31. Elis	VII	+ELIS ON LVNDE	1.41	(21.8)	
32. Geffrei	VII	+GIFFREI ON LV	1.17	(18.1)	
33.	VII	+GIFFREI ON LV//	1.45	(22.4)	
34. Ilger	VII	+ILGER ON LVNDE	1.45	(22.4)	
35.	VII	+ILGE ON LVNDE	1.39	(21.5)	
36.	VII	+IL///ON LVN.D	1.38	(21.3)	
37.	VII	//GER ON LVND	1.37	(21.2)	
38. Nichole	VII	+NICHOLE ON LVND	1.29	(19.9)	
39.	VII	+NICHOLE ON LVN	1.44	(22.2)	
40.	VII	+NICHOLE ON LVN	1.51	(23.3)	
41.	VII	+NICHOLE ON LVN	1.44	(22.2)	
42.	VII	+NICHOLE ON LVN	1.25	(19.3)	
43.	VII	+NICHOLE ON LVN	1.48	(22.9)	
44.	VII	+NICHOL//N LVN	1.51	(23.3)	
45.	VII	+///HOLE ON LVN	1.45	(22.3)	
46.	VII	+NICHOLE ON LV.	1.38	(21.3)	
47.	VII	+NICHOLE ON LV.	1.27	(19.6)	

<i>Mint and moneyer</i>	<i>Class</i>	<i>Rev. inscription</i>	<i>Weight</i>	
			<i>Grams</i>	<i>(Grains)</i>
48.	VII	+NICHOLE O/ LV	1.37	(21.2)
49. Raulf	VII	+RAVLF ON LVNDN	1.19	(18.3)
50.	VII	/AVLF ON LVN	1.16	(17.9)
51. Ricard	IVc	+RICARD.ON.LVN	1.08	(16.6)
52. Walter	Vc	+WALTER.ON LV	1.41	(21.8)
53. Willelm	Va	+WILLELM.ON.LVN	1.34	(20.7)
54.	Vb	+WI.LLELM.ON.LVN	1.42	(21.9)
<i>Bury St. Edmunds</i>				
55. Iohan	VII	+IO///N SANTE	1.38	(21.3)
56. Norman	VII	+NORMAN ON SAN	1.20	(18.5)
57. Simund	VII	+SIMVND///NT	1.43	(22.1)
58.	VII	//MVND ON SANT	1.01	(15.6)
<i>York</i>				
59. Willelm	Ib	+WILLELM.ON./VER	0.83	(12.8)
<i>Mint not known</i>				
60. Henri	VII	HENRI/////	1.43	(22.1)
61. ()mund	VII	//MVND ON ///	1.16	(17.9)
62. Willem	VII	+WILLEM ON ///	1.46	(22.5)

Double struck obv./rev.

B. CUT HALFPENNIES

<i>London</i>				
63. Adam	VII	AD/////NDE	0.78	(12.1)
64. ?	IV	/////N LVN///	0.75	(11.6)
<i>Mint uncertain</i>				
65. Adam	V	ADAM.O/////	0.70	(10.8)
66. Osber	Ia	//BER.ON.w//	0.69	(10.7)
67. Tomas	VII	TOMAS O/////	0.63	(9.7)

Winchester or Wilton

C. IRISH PENNY

John as Lord of Ireland and King of England. First coinage (c. 1204/5–1210?).

68. Roberd, Dublin	ROBERD ON DIVE	1.47	(22.7)	Dot 2t, cf. Dolley and Seaby, <i>Ulster Museum</i> i, no. 368
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D. SCOTTISH PENNY

William the Lion. Third coinage 1195–1214

69. Hue Walter	///WATRI	1.32	(20.4)	Double struck
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E. CONTINENTAL STERLINGS

70. Conrad, Bishop of Osnabrück (1227–38)				
Obv. SANCT'PETR'				
Rev. CONRADUSEP	1.40	(21.6)		Engel et Serrure, <i>Traité</i> , ii, p. 641, fig. 1136
71. Lordship of Lippe. Herman II (1196–1229)				
Obv. SANCTACO(lonia)				
Rev. LIPPECI(vi)TAS	1.40	(21.6)		Engel et Serrure, <i>Traité</i> , ii, p. 645

The coins were weighed in grammes, the figures in brackets being a conversion of these weights to grains. The following table is an analysis of the pennies of the parcel in respect of their classes and weights.

<i>Weight in grains</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>IV</i>	<i>V</i>	<i>VI</i>	<i>VII</i>	<i>VIII</i>	
12.0-12.9	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
13.0-13.9
14.0-14.9
15.0-15.9	1	..	1
16.0-16.9	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
17.0-17.9	6	..	6
18.0-18.9	..	1	..	..	3	..	4
19.0-19.9	4	..	4
20.0-20.9	..	3	1	..	5	..	9
21.0-21.9	3	..	9	..	12
22.0-22.9	1	1	18	1	21
23.0-23.9	3	..	3
	$\frac{1}{1}$	$\frac{5}{5}$	$\frac{5}{5}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$\frac{49}{49}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$\frac{62}{62}$

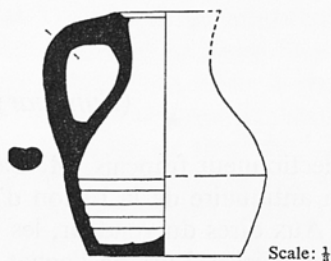
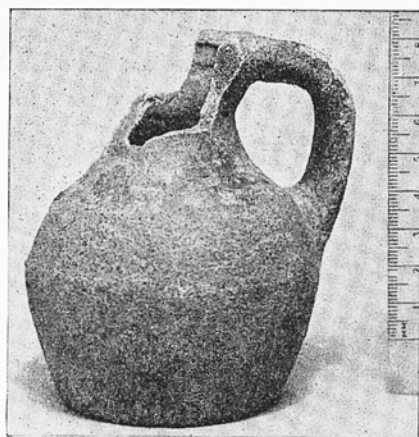
The Short Cross pennies in the parcel may be tabulated as follows:

<i>Mint</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>IV</i>	<i>V</i>	<i>VI</i>	<i>VII</i>	<i>VIII</i>	
Bury St. Edmunds	..	..	..	..	4	..	4
Canterbury	..	4	2	1	19	1	27
London	..	1	3	..	23	..	27
York	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
Not known	..	..	..	..	3	..	3
	$\frac{1}{1}$	$\frac{5}{5}$	$\frac{5}{5}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$\frac{49}{49}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$\frac{62}{62}$

The most obvious characteristic of this distribution is the preponderance of Class VII (79 per cent) compared with the low proportion of Classes V and VI. One suspects, however, that these relative proportions have been affected by the dispersal, which is unlikely to have been a random one. It is reasonable to suppose that good quality, legible samples would have been chosen for gifts, which would tend to account for the low proportion of Class V: it is significant that the three coins recovered after the inquest all belonged to this class.

While dispersal may have affected the composition of the parcel, it is unlikely that it would have affected its dating. The presence of a Class VIII coin must place the deposition of the hoard after 1242, while the absence of Long Cross coins probably places it before the recoinage of 1247. These were troubled times in north-east Wales, and possible historical reasons for the laying down of a hoard at Wrexham during these years are not far to seek. In 1244 Dafydd ap Llywelyn of Gwynedd and the Welsh princes allied to him began a policy of open conflict with the English which met increasing retaliation, culminating in Henry III's expedition to Degannwy¹ in 1245. Wrexham was part of the territories of Powys Fadog, whose prince was not an ally of Dafydd, but it is unlikely that it can have remained totally unaffected by the fears engendered by these events.

¹ Sir John Lloyd, *History of Wales*, ii, pp. 701-6.



THE POT

The pot that contained the coins is a small handled jug or pitcher, 9.5 cm. high with a maximum diameter of 8 cm. It is a miniature version of the squat type of medieval jug. The ware is dark grey with sparse quartz grits, fired orange/buff inside and light grey outside. A thin, light olive-green glaze survives in patches, but has been rubbed away in places exposing a light-grey pitted surface. The outer surface is regular and undecorated; the lower half of the inner surface has sharp-edged wheel marks and there is a pronounced boss at the centre of the base.

ESTERLINS À LA CROIX COURTE DANS LES TRÉSORS FRANÇAIS DE LA FIN DU XII^e ET DE LA PREMIÈRE MOITIÉ DU XIII^e SIÈCLE

J. YVON

(Summary in English on pp. 59–60)

UN collectionneur français, M. Castaing,¹ il y a une dizaine d'années environ, acheta, chez un antiquaire de la région d'Angers, un lot de quarante-sept esterlins à la croix courte. Aux dires du vendeur, les pièces avaient été trouvées dans la région du Mans, sans date précise. Lors de l'achat aucune monnaie française n'était mêlée aux pièces anglaises de ce trésor ou partie de trésor.

Des recherches faites, pour étude comparative, dans les séries anglaises du Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque Nationale amenèrent à découvrir que quinze esterlins à la croix courte étaient entrés en 1838 dans les collections du Cabinet par échange avec un érudit du Mans, M. Desjobert. L'homogénéité des quinze pièces prouve qu'elles proviennent certainement d'un trésor mis au jour dans la région dans les années qui précéderent leur entrée au Cabinet.

Un troisième trésor, composé d'esterlins à la croix courte et de monnaies françaises, circulait dans le commerce parisien il y a peu d'années et quelques pièces anglaises et françaises furent achetées pour le Cabinet par M^{me} Dumas, qui a donné un compte-rendu de ce trésor.²

Le catalogue des esterlins de ces trois trésors est donné plus loin. Ils sont publiés dans l'ordre chronologique de leur découverte et appelés ainsi: Le Mans I (trésor de 1838), Le Mans II (trésor acheté par M. Castaing), Le Mans III (trésor dans le commerce parisien).

A partir de là il était tentant de faire un relevé des trésors monétaires contenant en tout ou partie des esterlins à la croix courte découverts sur le sol français ainsi que des trouvailles isolées qui y furent faites. Les dépouillements des revues numismatiques et des publications des sociétés savantes locales ont permis d'en recenser trente-deux en tout.³ L'on trouvera un inventaire de ces trésors et trouvailles en fin d'article.

L'on compte seulement deux trouvailles isolées: 1 esterlin (cl. I–IV) à Bonneval et 1 esterlin de «Henri III»⁴ au Puy-du-Chalard en Corrèze auxquelles s'ajoutent des pièces trouvées à Gorron lors d'une construction d'église.

¹ Que M. Castaing soit ici vivement remercié d'avoir permis la publication du trésor qu'il a acquis. Il est à l'origine du présent article.

² F. Dumas, «La circulation monétaire dans les domaines Plantagenêts à travers une trouvaille du XIII^e siècle», *BSFN*, 24^e année, n° 10 (décembre 1969), pp. 467–8. Qu'elle soit remerciée de nous avoir livré ses notes et permis de publier ce trésor.

³ Outre les revues et leurs tables, le dépouillement de R. Lasteyrie, E. Lefèvre-Pontalis, A. Vidier,

R. Gandilhon, *Bibliographie générale des travaux historiques et archéologiques publiés par les sociétés savantes de France...*, Paris, 1888–1961, 14 vols., l'inventaire des trésors dressé au Cabinet des Médailles par M. J. Duplessy sous la direction de M. J. Lafaurie a été d'une aide précieuse.

L'on peut aussi parler de trente-trois trésors avec celui de Gisors, que Madame Dumas doit publier.

⁴ Dans les articles de revues françaises de la fin du XIX^e siècle on relève indifféremment: Henri II, Henri

Les trésors composés uniquement d'esterlins anglais à la croix courte auxquels se mêlent quelques pièces écossaises, irlandaises et allemandes et même des pièces du type Tealby si ce n'est quelques pièces antérieures à ces dernières, sont au nombre de sept : Lisieux (19 pièces), Le Mans I et II (25 et 47 pièces), Montpellier (600 pièces plus 9 écossaises, 4 irlandaises et 1 allemande), en Basse-Normandie (42 sur 54 pièces), Sisteron (9 pièces), et « en France » (571 pièces plus 2 écossaises et 1 allemande). A part les trésors de Montpellier et de lieu inconnu « en France » (600 et 571 pièces) les autres trésors ne dépassent pas la cinquantaine de pièces sauf dans celui découvert en Basse-Normandie.

Dans vingt-deux autres cas les esterlins à la croix courte sont mêlés à des pièces françaises. Quelle place ont-ils au sein de ces trésors ? En pourcentage ils représentent 25 % des pièces à Aviron, 14,26 % à Vallon (822 pièces, mais sur un total de 5,783). Ils n'atteignent que 9,45 et 8,71 % dans les trésors de Saint-Michel-en-l'Herm et d'Alençon. Ils n'entrent que pour moins de 5 % à Bourg-Dun (3,22 %), Poiré (3,08 %), Hotot (2,60 %), Royan (2 %), Le Mans III (1,77 %), Bais (1,34 %), Cré (1,30 %). Les autres trésors comptent moins d'un pour cent d'esterlins : 0,80 % à Saint-Fraimbault, 0,52 % à Béganne, 0,35 % à Mareuil, 0,13 % à Pontmain et 0,12 % à Caro.¹

Les ateliers anglais le plus souvent présents sont Londres et Cantorbéry, dans 17 et 13 trésors respectivement. Viennent ensuite Lincoln et York (8), Winchester (7), Oxford (6), Exeter (5), Northampton, Norwich et Rhuddlan (4), Carlisle (3). Les ateliers de Bury Saint Edmunds, Chichester, Durham, Shrewsbury, Worcester ne sont présents, chacun, que dans deux trésors ; ceux d'Ipswich, de Rochester et de Wilton ne paraissent qu'une fois. Les trésors de Vallon, de lieu inconnu « en France » et de Montpellier, les plus importants en nombre, possèdent la gamme la plus riche d'ateliers.

Les ateliers écossais se rencontrent dans sept trésors : Alençon, Gorron, Montpellier, Rédené, Saint-Michel-en-l'Herm, Vallon et le trésor découvert « en France ». Quant aux pièces irlandaises elles figurent à Montpellier, en Basse-Normandie, à Poiré-sur-Velluire et à Gorron.²

Quelles sont les monnaies françaises qui entrent dans la composition des trésors mixtes et dans quelle proportion ?

Il n'y a pratiquement pas de monnaies royales françaises dans les trésors, que, en partie à cause de cette absence, l'on date d'avant 1205, trésors qui sont en majorité.

III. Ce n'est qu'en 1863 que Longstaff démontra que les esterlins à la croix courte avaient été émis par les quatre rois, Henri II, Richard Cœur de Lion, Jean Sans Terre, Henri III et répartit les pièces en un nombre de classes telles qu'elles sont reconnues aujourd'hui ou à peu près. Sa classification était entachée d'erreurs. L'étude d'un important trésor découvert en 1865 amena Evans à proposer un classement des pièces qui resta le modèle jusqu'à la publication de Lawrence en 1915. Même en Angleterre longtemps après 1863 les pièces étaient encore attribuées à Henri II ou Henri III, ceux qui les publiaient se référant aux ouvrages de Ruding, Snelling etc. . . . Il n'est donc pas étonnant que dans les publications françaises on ait recours aux mêmes attributions aussi imprécises. Mais à la fin de la publication du trésor de Vallon par Ferdinand Hucher en 1877, qui attribue tous les esterlins à Henri II, Eugène Hucher, père de l'auteur et érudit reconnu de son époque, écrit cette

note savoureuse : « Dans une curieuse brochure intitulée *La Question des Courtes-Croix* (The Short-Cross Question), M. John Evans, notre savant confrère d'Outre-Manche, établit que la fabrication des sterlings, commencée sous Henri II, se continua jusqu'aux années 1247-1248, époque où la croix longue fut introduite dans ce type. Dans cette brochure, publiée à Londres en 1865, M. John Evans donne une liste complète de tous les monétaires classés par noms de villes et par époques probables. Cette brochure, peu connue en France, jette une vive lumière sur ce monnayage ! »

¹ Il ne peut être donné de pourcentage pour six trésors à propos desquels les renseignements fournis sont trop imprécis : Caen, Caran, Corné, Corpe, Larré et Redené.

² Soulignons que cette statistique des présences des ateliers n'est pas exacte puisque, comme on le verra dans l'inventaire, onze trésors ne donnent aucune indication sur se point.

Le trésor de Vallon contient une pièce de Montreuil au nom d'un roi Philippe, attribuée à Philippe I^{er}, «mais d'une époque postérieure» dit le texte (une pièce de Philippe II?). A ce même trésor appartient une pièce de Philippe II mais frappée à Déols entre 1200 et 1203. Les deux pièces ne représentent que 0,02 % du total. Une pièce de Louis VI, de Dreux, figure dans le trésor de Hotot, une autre, du même roi ou de Louis VII, d'Orléans, est signalée dans le trésor d'Alençon. Les deniers tournois de Philippe II font leur apparition à Saint-Michel-en-l'Herm et n'entrent que pour 0,11 % dans le trésor, ils sont douze et 3,15 % du trésor à Béganne, qui date des quinze premières années du XIII^e siècle. Le pourcentage des monnaies royales est plus élevé dans les trésors enfouis sous Louis VIII et Louis IX: 19 % de l'ensemble (11 % de tournois de Philippe II, 8 % de tournois de Louis VIII–Louis IX) du trésor de Royan, un peu plus de 37 % (environ 18 % de Philippe II et 19 % de Louis VIII–Louis IX) à Poiré-sur-Velluire où elles sont les plus nombreuses, près de 25 % (environ 2,40 % de Philippe II et 22,60 % de Louis VIII–Louis IX) à Mareuil. Les deniers royaux sont surtout des tournois, comme il faut s'y attendre, il n'y a qu'un parisis dans le trésor de Poiré et trois dans celui de Mareuil. Le parisis circule dans le nord et le nord-est de la France, non dans le nord-ouest et l'ouest.¹

Quant à la progression dans le temps et dans l'espace des monnaies royales françaises au sein des trésors recensés elle est parallèle à celle que l'on observe dans l'ensemble des trésors français du XIII^e siècle: sur quatre-vingt-huit trésors recensés pour l'époque de Philippe-Auguste seuls dix-sept contiennent des monnaies royales. Les trésors de Royan, de Poiré, de Mareuil font partie des dix-neuf trésors contenant des monnaies royales françaises sur trente-deux connus pour l'époque de Louis VIII–Louis IX.² La progression est plus sensible encore dans les trésors enfouis après 1266 et jusqu'au début du XIV^e siècle: sur trente-trois, trente contiennent des monnaies royales.

Les monnaies de Bretagne, d'Anjou, du Maine, de Touraine et d'Orléanais dominent dans les trésors cités. Les quatre premières sont à peu près toujours dans cet ordre décroissant d'importance au sein des trésors. Les pièces de Châteaudun, de Vendôme, et de Gien viennent après elles.

La monnaie de Guingamp (Bretagne, comté de Penthievre) l'emporte très nettement sur les autres. Elle représente 84,50 %, 57 %, 51,8 %, 50,3 %, 50 % du total des pièces dans les trésors de Caro (Bretagne), de St-Michel-en-l'Herm (Poitou), de Cré (Anjou), de Béganne (Bretagne), d'Aviron (Normandie), 49,50 % et 48,75 % à Hotot (Normandie), et Bais (Bretagne), 35 % à St-Fraimbault (Normandie). Ses pièces sont les plus nombreuses à Rédené (Bretagne). Elles viennent en seconde position dans les trésors de Bourg-Dun (Normandie) et de Vallon (Maine). Avec elles circulent quelques pièces de Conan III (1112–48) et de Conan IV (1158–69) et les pièces de Geoffroi, comte de Nantes (1156–8) et de Geoffroi II, duc de Bretagne (1169–86), fils de Henri II d'Angleterre. Les pièces frappées à Rennes et à Guingamp par Philippe II ne sont guère nom-

¹ Ce n'est qu'à partir du premier tiers du XIII^e siècle que les parisis de Philippe II font une timide apparition dans la composition des trésors enfouis au sud de la Loire, Poiré et Mareuil sont parmi les premiers exemples. Le trésor de Chappes (Allier) enfoui dans la seconde moitié du XIII^e siècle et composé à forte majorité de parisis est une exception. Voy. J. Yvon, «Le trésor de Chappes», *RN*, t. vi (1964),

pp. 162–76 et p. 166 en particulier.

² L'on ne peut distinguer en matière de monnaies royales françaises entre Louis VIII et Louis IX. Les deniers tournois à la légende TVRONVS CIVI ont été frappés jusqu'à la réforme de la fin du règne de s. Louis où le denier tournois prend la forme TVRONVS CIVIS.

breuses dans ces trésors. Les pièces anonymes de Nantes, de Rennes et de Guingamp à la légende DVX BRITANIE et au type de la croix dans un polylobe de Pierre Mauclerc, premier duc de Bretagne de la maison de Dreux,¹ font une timide apparition à Alençon, elles sont peu nombreuses à Royan, trésor assez lointain où prédominent les pièces d'Aquitaine de Richard Cœur de Lion. Elles sont un bon nombre à Poiré et ce sont elles qui entrent pour plus de la moitié dans l'autre trésor vendéen, Mareuil.

Les pièces d'Anjou forment la majorité dans les trésors de Bourg-Dun, de Vallon, d'Alençon. Elles tiennent presque toujours la seconde place après celles de Guingamp, avec plus de 30 % au total parfois. Frappées par les Plantagenêts jusque sous Jean Sans Terre, elles ont gardé légendes et types des premiers comtes, Foulques et Geoffroi. Il faudra attendre Charles I^{er} d'Anjou et l'an 1246 pour que les légendes d'abord, puis les types, changent.

Les deniers du Maine sont l'exemple même de la monnaie dont types et légendes sont restés immobilisés depuis la première frappe du comte Erbert, vers 1030. Si elles entrent pour 54 % dans le trésor III du Mans et forment la plupart des pièces du trésor de Larré, elles viennent généralement en troisième et quatrième position dans les trésors, se cantonnant à une participation de 10 à 16 % de l'ensemble.

Les monnaies de Tours (SCS MARTINVS — TVRONVS CIVI, types du châtel tournois et de la croix) n'entrent que pour un peu plus de 10 à 12 % dans les trésors d'avant 1205 mais atteignent 20 % dans les trésors où les tournois royaux prennent eux-mêmes de l'importance comme à Poiré, Royan et Mareuil.

Plus à l'est le long de la Loire les monnaies de Châteaudun, de Vendôme, de Gien sont les pièces de l'Orléanais. Châteaudun est en seconde position derrière Guingamp à Hotot, à Saint-Fraimbault, à Alençon, y représentant 16,50, 27,50 et 15 % du total des pièces. Les monnaies frappées dans cette ville figurent dans huit trésors, ce sont des pièces anonymes aux légendes déformées, DVNICSASTI, DVNIOSTILI; aucune des pièces à partir du comte Geoffroi IV (1215-35) ne paraît dans les trésors cités. Vendôme figure également dans huit trésors, ses pièces y sont associées à celles de Châteaudun. Elles dépassent 8 % du total à Saint-Fraimbault, ailleurs leur pourcentage est beaucoup plus faible. Au type bléso-chartrain de la tête, elles sont anonymes comme celles de Châteaudun, le nom de la ville étant lui aussi déformé en VDOMCAOSTO ou VDOMCAVSTO. Il ne paraît dans ces trésors aucune pièce à la légende VIDOCINENSIS ni aucune autre signée attribuable à Jean III (1207-18) et à Jean IV (1218-39). Le trésor de Poiré est le seul qui contienne deux pièces frappées au même type, anonymes aussi et appartenant au Perche. Les monnaies de Chartres, anonymes à la tête, sont en petit nombre: deux à Vallon, une à Alençon et une à Poiré. Ce sont les monnaies de Gien qui viennent en importance après Châteaudun et Vendôme, présentes dans huit trésors. Elles viennent en seconde position après les monnaies de Tours dans le trésor de Béganne, entrant pour près de 20 % de l'ensemble des pièces, ailleurs ce pourcentage est beaucoup plus faible. Frappée à partir du premier tiers ou du milieu du XII^e siècle par un comte Geoffroi qui copie légendes et types des monnaies d'Anjou au nom de Geoffroi, cette monnaie est très abondante dans les trésors de la seconde moitié et de la fin du XII^e siècle au sud

¹ Ces pièces ont été frappées sous Pierre Mauclerc (1213-37) et encore dans les premières années de Jean I^{er} de Bretagne (1237-86) jusque vers 1240 environ. Voy. J. Duplessy, « Numismatique de Brosse, Sainte-

Sévère et Huriel... », *RN*⁶, t. ix (1967), pp. 90 et 97 et J. Yvon, « Le trésor de Bouvron », id., t. x (1968), pp. 236 et suiv.

de la Loire, en Berry et dans le nord de l'Auvergne en particulier. Gien fut acheté par Philippe-Auguste en 1197 mais les pièces restèrent un certain temps dans la circulation monétaire pendant le XIII^e siècle; on en rencontre même encore dans les trésors du début du XIV^e siècle.¹

Les pièces de Déols frappées par Raoul VI (1160-76) et au-delà de son règne ainsi que la pièce au nom de Philippe II, seigneur de Déols entre 1200 et 1203, sont celles qui, parmi les monnaies du Berry, sont présentes dans le plus grand nombre de trésors: Hotot, Rédené, Vallon, Alençon, tous situés au nord de la Loire. La pièce de Château-roux, de Guillaume II (1233-70) figure parmi les plus récentes du trésor de Poiré. C'est à Mareuil également que figurent trois pièces de Celles au type chartrain de Robert I^{er} (1178-89), à Poiré que l'on trouve une pièce de Château-Meillant au type des monnaies de Limoges et au nom de la maison de Déols, dans le même trésor figure un denier anonyme de Vierzou. Un denier et une obole de Sancerre, sans autre précision, au nom immobilisé d'Étienne sans doute, fait partie du trésor de Vallon. A ce même trésor appartiennent trois deniers d'Issoudun au nom de Richard Cœur de Lion, roi, frappés entre 1196 et 1199.

Les monnaies du Poitou sont présentes dans les trésors de Vallon, de Royan et de Poiré: trois pièces de Melle au type carolingien immobilisé à Vallon, une à Royan; une obole de Richard, roi, à Vallon, trois deniers dans chacun des trésors de Poiré et de Royan. A Poiré figure un denier de Savary de Mauléon.

Les pièces les plus nombreuses du trésor de Royan, le trésor mixte le plus au sud, sont des pièces de Richard Cœur de Lion au titre de l'Aquitaine.

Il n'y a qu'une pièce d'Angoulême dans le trésor de Vallon; mêlées aux pièces de la Marche on en trouve également à Royan et Poiré. Seules deux pièces de Limoges figurent à Vallon.

Les pièces de Nevers, au nom de Hervé de Donzy, de la seigneurie de Bourbon et de l'abbaye de Souvigny sont présentes à Hotot, Rédené, Vallon et Poiré.

On note une pièce de Béarn à Vallon et Royan, quelques pièces de Bourgogne et de Franche-Comté à Vallon, Royan et Poiré. Mais quel est ce denier de Rouen du trésor de Vallon dont on ne sait rien d'autre?

La présence de dinars almohades d'Espagne et d'Afrique dans les trésors de Rédené et de Poiré n'a rien d'anormal, ces deux trésors font partie du groupe important de trésors des XII^e et XIII^e siècles contenant des monnaies arabes de cette sorte et dont la plupart sont situés en France.²

¹ Voy. J. Duplessy et D. M. Metcalf, «Le trésor de Samos et la circulation monétaire en Orient Latin aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles», *RBN*, t. cviii (1962), p. 177 sur la date des premières frappes de cette monnaie.

² J. Duplessy, «La circulation des monnaies arabes en Europe occidentale du VIII^e au XIII^e siècle», *RN*³, t. xviii (1956), pp. 106-8. On ne sait en fait ce que contenaient les cinquante pièces d'or arabes du trésor de Rédené en dehors des deux pièces almohades identifiées. Les pièces étaient-elles toutes almohades?

Relevons en outre les références assez fréquentes dans les documents financiers anglais au marc d'or et au besant. Dans les *Magni rotuli Scaccarii Normanniae sub regibus Angliae*, éd. Stapleton, Londres, 1840-44, 2 vol. et les *Rotuli Normanniae in Turri*

Londinensi asservati..., éd. Th. D. Hardy, Londres, 1835, figurent des sommes de 1, 4, 5, 10, 25, 30, 68, 85, 100 besants, les mentions de 1, 10, 4 et 5 besants étant les plus fréquentes. Le besant est évalué à 7 sous durant le règne de Richard Cœur de Lion (7 sous pour un besant, 70 s. pour 10 besants, 35 l. pour 100 besants). Sous Jean Sans Terre, à partir de 1203, il est évalué à 8 s. (4 l. pour 10 besants; 8 s. pour 1 besant, 40 s. pour 5 besants, 16 s. pour 2 besants). Sur l'emploi de ces besants dans les gros paiements en Normandie voy. le texte de M. de Boüard dans l'*Histoire de la Normandie*, Paris, 1970, p. 162. L. Delisle dans son article, «Des revenus publics en Normandie au douzième siècle», *BEC*, t. v, 2^e sér. (1848-9), aux pages 206-7 est le premier à relever les fréquentes mentions

La comparaison entre les trésors recensés ici et l'ensemble des trésors enfouis dans les mêmes régions et aux mêmes époques confirme la prépondérance des monnaies de Guingamp, d'Anjou, du Maine, de Touraine et d'Orléanais, accompagnées des monnaies du Berry, du Nivernais et du Bourbonnais dans le nord-ouest de la France à l'époque de Philippe-Auguste. En Poitou, sous le même règne, les trésors font apparaître une prépondérance de pièces de Richard Cœur de Lion frappées en Poitou et en Aquitaine, des comtés d'Angoulême et de la Marche avec, encore, des pièces de Melle. Par sa composition le trésor de Saint-Michel-en-l'Herm, dans lequel les pièces de Bretagne et d'Anjou sont prédominantes, fait penser plutôt à un trésor situé au nord de la Loire. Dans la première partie du règne de Louis IX ce sont les pièces de Bretagne qui prédominent mais, cette fois, ce sont les anonymes de Pierre Mauclerc, de Nantes, de Rennes, de Guingamp, à Poiré et à Mareuil comme ailleurs. Dans l'Aunis et la Saintonge les pièces d'Angoulême et de la Marche semblent l'emporter avec les pièces de Richard Cœur de Lion du Poitou sous le règne de Philippe-Auguste. Sous le règne de Louis IX, à en croire les deux trésors de Royan et de Guitinières, ce sont les pièces de Richard Cœur de Lion d'Aquitaine qui l'emportent avec les pièces d'Angoulême et de la Marche alors que les pièces du même roi pour le Poitou ont disparu de la circulation.¹

Faite entre les textes et les trésors monétaires la comparaison amène à constater une légère différence entre eux. Ceux-là ne parlent qu'en monnaies officielles, ceux-ci montrent celles qui circulent, aussi n'y a-t-il pas toujours correspondance entre les unes et les autres. Aucun texte concernant la Normandie, le Maine et l'Anjou ne révèle la prépondérance de la monnaie de Guingamp. La monnaie angevine, appelée *moneta publica, capitalis moneta*,² est la monnaie officielle, ordinaire, dans ces trois provinces depuis le milieu du XII^e siècle. Nous savons qu'elle y circule largement et au-delà. Les sommes mentionnées dans les actes de Henri II et portées sur les rôles de l'échiquier de Normandie entre 1180 et 1203 sont pratiquement toutes en monnaie angevine.³ Les autres monnaies comme celles du Maine n'apparaissent que rarement et les monnaies de l'Orléanais ne sont pas mentionnées⁴ alors que les sommes exprimées en monnaie sterling sont nombreuses.

de besants et les équivalences de 7 s. et de 8 s. de 1195, 1198, 1201 et 1203, citant les *Rotuli* et le cartulaire de Savigny.

¹ A. Bronfenbrener, «Le trésor de Guitinières», *RN*, t. xi (1969), p. 275 envisage la subsistance d'une frappe, immobilisée, au nom de Richard Cœur de Lion pour l'Aquitaine, hypothèse séduisante.

² L. Delisle, op. cit., pp. 183 et suiv. Tout le premier article de Delisle est consacré à l'histoire monétaire de la période. Outre l'article de Dieudonné cité plus loin: J. Boussard, *Le Gouvernement de Henri II Plantagenêt*, Paris, 1956, reprend cette histoire dans le chapitre «La monnaie et les finances» aux pages 300-11. Du même auteur on lira avec profit ce qui est la meilleure introduction en français, à l'heure actuelle, aux institutions financières anglaises: «Les institutions financières de l'Angleterre au XII^e siècle», dans *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 1^{re} année, n° 4 (octobre-décembre 1958), pp. 475-94.

³ Dans les *Rotuli Normanniae*... les comptes exprimés en l.s.d. sont exprimés explicitement en monnaie angevine la plupart du temps; on rencontre la mention de marc, sou, denier sterling. Quand les l.s.d.

ne sont pas précisés il faut convertir toujours en monnaie d'Anjou, voy. le compte de la p. 450. Le *Recueil des actes de Henri II roi d'Angleterre et duc de Normandie concernant les provinces françaises et les affaires de France*, Paris, 1909-30, 3 vol., publié par L. Delisle et E. Berger, mentionne 57 fois la monnaie angevine dont 33 fois pour la Normandie, 14 fois pour l'Anjou, 4 fois pour le Poitou, une pour le Maine, le Berry et la Touraine.

⁴ Dans le *Recueil des actes de Henri II*... dix sommes sont exprimées en monnaie du Mans, dont sept pour la Normandie et trois pour le Maine. On relève quelques sommes en mansois dans les *Rotuli* ainsi qu'en monnaie poitevine et angoumoise, mais ces dernières concernent des affaires intéressant le Poitou et l'Angoumois. Selon Delisle, op. cit., pp. 190-2, les monnaies de Chartres, de Châteaudun et de Dreux circulaient surtout dans la région d'Évreux et les monnaies de Vendôme, de Déols, de Gien, de Guingamp et de Rennes n'étaient que des exceptions. Pour J. Boussard, op. cit., p. 303, la monnaie dunoise ne se trouve plus en Normandie dans la deuxième moitié du XII^e siècle.

La répartition des trésors et trouvailles sur une carte montre une forte concentration en Normandie, dans le Maine, l'Anjou et la Bretagne, à un degré moindre en Poitou et Saintonge. Les trésors de Montpellier et de Sisteron, la trouvaille du Puy-du-Chalard sont loin des autres points de concentration. Sisteron n'est pas cependant un trésor isolé dans la région des Alpes car il en a été découvert un au col du Grand-Saint-Bernard dans lequel sont mêlés esterlins et deniers de Savoie.¹

Cette concentration dans les anciens domaines des Plantagenêts, particulièrement dans ceux qui sont situés au nord de la Loire, explique la prépondérance des monnaies de Bretagne, d'Anjou, du Maine et de l'Orléanais. Elle est compréhensible en soi également : enfouis pour la plupart dans les premières années du XIII^e siècle les trésors sont les témoins des guerres entre Philippe-Auguste et Jean Sans Terre et de la conquête par le roi de France des domaines français du roi d'Angleterre.² Ils révèlent une large circulation d'un même groupe de monnaies françaises auxquelles se mêlent des pièces anglaises, encore que ces dernières soient parfois seules, dans les domaines continentaux des rois Plantagenêts où n'ont pas encore pénétré les monnaies royales françaises.

Ayant réalisé ses conquêtes sur Jean Sans Terre, Philippe-Auguste règle le sort des monnaies qui circulaient dans les territoires conquis. Son ordonnance de 1204³ cite expressément les monnaies de Guingamp, de Châteaudun, de Vendôme, du Perche, du Mans, d'Anjou et les esterlins rencontrés dans les trésors étudiés ici. Elle reconnaît et confirme la hiérarchie existant entre les monnaies ayant cours et donne force de loi à la monnaie tournois qui élimine l'angevine. Celle-là l'emporte sur celle-ci : à la fin du règne de Louis VIII l'évêque de Poitiers constate que dans l'ouest les comptes ne sont plus tenus en angevins mais en tournois.⁴ Philippe-Auguste achevait ainsi l'édification du système monétaire royal français, dont parisis et tournois sont la base. Saint Louis imposera ces deniers de par tout le royaume, restreignant les autres pièces à une circulation locale, interdisant à ses frères de frapper à l'imitation du monnayage royal, en attendant de créer, à la fin de son règne, le gros tournois de douze deniers (ou un sou) et l'écu d'or de dix sous.

L'ordonnance de 1204 reconnaissait donc la hiérarchie existant entre les pièces, le tournois remplaçant l'angevin et, de ce fait, l'esterlin anglais était prisé à quatre tournois, le denier du Mans à deux tout comme ils avaient valu jusqu'ici quatre et deux angevins, ainsi que les actes de Henri II et les rôles normands nous l'apprennent.⁵ Le fait que

¹ A. Simonetta, «Hoard of Coins found along the Great St. Bernard Pass», *The Numismatic Circular*, juillet 1949, cols. 356-7, et John D. Brand, «An Altered Die and an Enigmatic Hoard», *ibid.*, mars 1968, pp. 76-7.

² Les trésors de Poitou et de Saintonge sont aussi les témoins des luttes postérieures.

³ L'acte est publié dans le *Recueil des actes de Philippe-Auguste...* publié par H.-Fr. Delaborde, Ch. Petit-Dutaillis et J. Monicat, t. ii, Paris, 1943, pp. 423-4, sous le n° 844 (anc. Delisle n° 867). Les auteurs du volume le datent de Caen, octobre 1204. Le texte est établi d'après la leçon B, copie du XIII^e siècle du registre A de Philippe-Auguste, fol. 40 v°. Sur le texte lui-même et son interprétation voy. A. Dieudonné, «L'ordonnance de 1204 sur le change des monnaies en Normandie», dans *Mélanges Schlum-*

berger, Paris, 1924, t. ii, pp. 328-37 avec planche. Dieudonné donne la liste des publications antérieures de ce texte, notamment celles de Delisle et de Lecoindre-Dupont. Delisle est le premier qui ait daté correctement ce texte que Lecoindre-Dupont, «Lettre sur l'histoire monétaire de la Normandie...» *RN* 1842, p. 117, situait vers 1158.

⁴ P. Guilhiermoz et A. Dieudonné, «Chronologie des documents monétaires de la numismatique royale des origines à 1330 et 1337», *RN* 1929, p. 217, n° 50, d'après *RN* 1843, p. 103.

⁵ Par un acte passé à Gisors le 11 mars 1186 entre Marguerite, sœur de Philippe-Auguste et veuve de Henri le Jeune, et son beau-père, Henri II, il est entendu que si une rente annuelle de 2.750 l. ang. payée en numéraire est payée en argent elle doit l'être sur le pied de 54 s. angevins pour un marc d'argent de

l'esterlin ait été prisé comme un multiple du denier est attesté par la présence dans certains trésors d'esterlins coupés en quatre et en deux. Il y avait quelques moitiés d'esterlins à Corpe et à Mareuil, cent cinquante étaient coupés en deux et vingt en quatre dans le trésor de Montpellier, Hotot contenait « 25 pièces de Henri II divisées », Saint-Fraimbault et Lisieux chacun une moitié. Dans le trésor de Vallon il entrait 390 moitiés et sous le terme de « résidus » qu'emploie l'auteur de la publication se cachent sans doute un bon nombre de pièces coupées en quatre. Ainsi coupait-on l'esterlin en quatre ou en deux pour obtenir des pièces de un et deux deniers, phénomène inhabituel en Angleterre, plus courant peut-être en Irlande où sont frappés des demis et des quarts.¹

La circulation des esterlins anglais en France, accompagnés de leurs équivalents écossais et irlandais, est indéniable, les trésors recensés ici en sont la preuve. Sans doute ne faut-il pas exagérer leur importance.² En dehors de deux trésors (Montpellier et « en France ») le nombre de pièces est peu élevé pour chaque trésor composé d'esterlins seuls³ et dans les trésors mixtes leur pourcentage est peu élevé. Même si l'on considère que chaque pièce a la valeur de quatre deniers leur somme n'excède pas, dans chaque trésor, sauf dans celui d'Aviron, la valeur des deniers français, loin de là. Ils sont thésaurisés en tant que grosse monnaie, représentant une certaine somme de deniers (comme le man-sois d'ailleurs), dont le besoin se fait sentir et dont il n'y a pas d'équivalent en France,⁴ plus, semble-t-il, que pour la simple valeur de l'argent qu'ils contiennent.⁵ En Normandie, dans le Maine et l'Anjou il n'y a pas d'autre trésor sans esterlin en dehors de

13 s. 4 d. st. (*Recueil des actes de Henri II...*, t. II, p. 275, n° 660). Dans les *Rotuli...* éd. Hardy, l'on trouve les équivalences suivantes: 6,859 marcs 2 s. 3 d. 1 ob. st. qui valent 18,291 l. 2 s. 6 d. Ang. (p. 302), 133 l. 6 s. 8 d. Ang. pour 50 marcs d'argent (p. 493), 260 l. 12 s. 4 d. pour 100 marcs (p. 238), 3, 226 l. 13 s. 4 d. pour 1,210 marcs (p. 300) et 555 l. st. pour 2,200 l. Ang. (p. 501).

¹ Deux trésors anglais ou plutôt deux parties de trésor sont connus pour contenir des demi-esterlins: le trésor de Crowle, dans le Worcestershire, contenait 42 esterlins et six demi-esterlins, voy. J. D. Brand et J. D. A. Thompson, 'A Worcestershire Hoard of Short-cross Pennies', *BNJ*, t. xxxiv (1965), pp. 86-9. Un lot de 26 esterlins à la croix courte de la classe V b et c contenaient deux moitiés d'esterlin, l'un de Cantorbéry, l'autre de Londres, voy. R. H. M. Dolley, 'An Unpublished Find of Early Thirteenth-century Pennies', *BNJ*, vol. 36 (1967), pp. 193-5. En Écosse dans le trésor de Tom a' Bhuraich, de plusieurs centaines de pièces, il y avait un certain nombre d'esterlins coupés en deux et en quatre, voy. Thompson, *Inventory...* n° 301 et R. H. M. Dolley, 'The Date of the Medieval Coin-hoard from Tom a' Bhuraich in Aberdeenshire', *Proceedings Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, t. xiv (1961-2), pp. 241-8. En Irlande, dans les environs de Dublin, en 1853 (*Inventory* n° 133) 250 pièces dont 3 demi-esterlins irlandais et quatre esterlins anglais coupés en deux. A Newry (Ulster) en 1858 (*Inventory* n° 288): environ 1,100 pièces dont de nombreux demis et quarts d'esterlin irlandais et cinq esterlins anglais coupés en deux.

² L. Delisle, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-90, écrit que la mon-

naie anglaise était très répandue en Normandie depuis le règne de Henri I^{er} et ajoutait: « mais ce qui, mieux qu'aucun texte, montre la vogue des esterlins c'est la forte proportion dans laquelle on les trouve dans les trésors » en se référant à Lecoq-Dupont, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-19 du tirage-à-part.

³ Encore que l'on puisse penser que certains de ces trésors d'esterlins ne sont que des parties de trésors mixtes dont les monnaies françaises ont été enlevées.

⁴ Il est curieux de constater que le roi de France ne frappa aucun multiple du denier tournois et du denier parisien avant la réforme de s. Louis et qu'entre le denier et le gros de douze deniers il n'y a aucun intermédiaire. Le duc de Bretagne et les princes apatagistes frappèrent pourtant des pièces à l'imitation du man-sois, double denier ou gros de deux deniers: Jean I^{er} de Bretagne vers 1240 et les frères de s. Louis, en 1253. Alfonse de Poitiers son gros tournois ou man-sois, Charles I^{er} d'Anjou le double angevin, le man-sois de Provence et, en 1265, un nouveau man-sois qui remplaçait celui qu'il a frappé dès sa prise de possession du Maine en 1246.

⁵ J. D. Brand, 'Some Notes on Interpretation of Hoard-evidence in the Short-cross Period', *Cambrian*, 1967, pp. 30-5, pense que les deniers anglais trouvés sur le continent participent plus d'une thésaurisation due à la valeur d'argent, en tant que billon et non en tant que pièces. Il n'avait alors comme exemple que le trésor de Basse-Normandie, trésor hétéroclite, bien que de composition anglaise uniquement avec deux additions irlandaises. Ses conclusions générales n'en restent pas moins excellentes.

ceux qui ont été recensés pour l'époque de Philippe-Auguste, en Bretagne il n'y a que deux trésors qui ne contiennent pas d'esterlin à la même époque. Peut-on trouver étonnant que des esterlins anglais fassent partie des trésors enfouis en France dans des territoires appartenant au roi d'Angleterre ? Il est certain que les relations entre l'Angleterre et le continent proche, en particulier la Normandie, sont étroites. Des hommes ont des intérêts de part et d'autre de la Manche. La guerre entre les rois d'Angleterre et de France, est à l'origine également de transports d'hommes et d'argent.¹ Il paraît donc naturel que dans la circulation courante l'esterlin se mêle aux autres pièces en usage. Deux trésors découverts, l'un en Angleterre, à Lark Hill, l'autre à Rome, près du Vatican, sont comme les échos, à l'étranger, des trésors français. N'étaient leurs lieux de découverte l'on pourrait prétendre qu'ils sont français.²

Cette circulation ne paraît pas non plus limitée aux seuls pays sis au nord de la Loire puisque certains trésors, peu nombreux, sont situés au-delà. Pourtant le fleuve semble être comme une barrière entre les domaines des Plantagenêts. Elle ne paraît pas non plus limitée aux seuls esterlins des quatre premières classes, les trésors du Poitou et de Saintonge contiennent des pièces postérieures descendant jusqu'à la classe VII, de même que deux trésors normands.³ A ces derniers il faut ajouter le trésor qui vient d'être découvert, en 1970, à Gisors, capitale du Vexin normand. Il recèle, selon un

¹ L'argent anglais a dû servir au paiement des troupes, à la construction de châteaux, au ralliement d'alliés hésitants. Qu'il ait été utilisé pour la frappe de monnaies du continent semble ressortir clairement de cette phrase du *Dialogus de scaccario*: «Erit autem cure eorum qui presunt recepte gratia dominorum suorum, hoc est clerici thesaurarii et camerariorum ut recepta pecunia scorsum mittant examinati argenti pondera et denarios de firma, appositis quibusdam signis saccis eorum, ut si rex uasa argentea ad cultum domus dei uel ad domus proprie obsequium uel forte monetas transmarinas fieri uoluerit ex hiis fiant.» Il faut certainement entendre par *monetas transmarinas fieri* la frappe de monnaies du continent, c'est-à-dire des possessions du roi d'Angleterre, ce que laissent comprendre les traductions de Hughes, Crump, Johnson, de 1902 (*for coinage for the king's foreign possessions*) et de Johnson, de 1950, (*to coin for his foreign possessions*). La traduction de D. C. Douglas et de G. W. Greenaway dans le tome II des *English Historical Documents* est plus interprétative (*money for use overseas*), semble-t-il. Il doit s'agir de monnaies frappées à l'aide de ces lingots et de ces monnaies et non des monnaies provenant des sacs servant de monnaie sur le continent.

² (1) L. A. Lawrence, «The Lark Hill (Worcester) Find», *NC*⁴, xix (1919), pp. 45-60, pl. iv. Trésor découvert en 1853, décrit sommairement par J. Y. Akerman dans *Archaeologia*, xxxvi, pp. 200-2. Le trésor appartient maintenant au British Museum où il est entré par don dès 1854. Il n'entre dans sa composition aucun esterlin à la croix courte, toutes les pièces anglaises sont en effet du type Tealby au nombre de 208. S'y ajoutent trois pièces écossaises dont une moitié, les pièces françaises étant des deniers d'Anjou (8), de Tours (8), d'Eudes II de Bourgogne (1), d'Eustache de Boulogne (1). Voy. *A Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum; the Cross and Cross-*

lets [«Tealby»] *Type of Henry II*, by D. F. Allen, Londres, 1951, pp. liv-lv.

(2) Lord Grantley et L. A. Lawrence, «On a Find of French Deniers and English Pennies of the Twelfth Century», *BNJ* 1918, t. xiv, 2^e série, vol. iv (1920), pp. 39-46. Trouvé à Rome, près du Vatican, dans les années précédant 1918, il était composé de 16 pièces de type Tealby en très mauvaise condition, de 69 esterlins à la croix courte, tous de la classe I, de deux pièces allemandes indéterminées et de 206 monnaies françaises: 10 d'Anjou, 6 de Tours, 6 de Chartres et 184 de Provins.

Monnaies d'Anjou et de Tours se retrouvent dans les deux trésors. Les pièces de Chartres, du second trésor, ne sont pas pour nous étonner. Quant aux pièces de Provins, elles ont été collectées au passage dans la ville, lors d'une foire, ou bien sur le chemin de Rome même où les pièces de Provins circulent.

³ Un texte de 1247 fixe le rapport entre les deniers artésiens et les esterlins. Il doit s'agir encore d'esterlins à la croix courte, l'acte étant de février. Plus tard, en 1265, on procède, à Lille, à l'essai de parisis, d'artésiens et d'esterlins. En 1263 le roi fixait l'équivalence de 4 deniers tournois pour un esterlin. Il rappelle cette même équivalence en 1265, laissant courir les esterlins jusqu'à la mi-août 1266, après quoi les pièces étaient décriées. Les esterlins sont alors au type de la croix longue. Un seul trésor d'esterlins à ce type a été découvert en France à ce jour (voy. p. 58) et peut-être, quelques pièces isolées. Pour les textes cités, voy. M. Prou, «Recueil de documents relatifs à l'histoire monétaire», *RN* 1898, p. 314, n° 1, p. 317, n° 4, pour les deux premiers et F. de Saulcy, *Recueil de documents relatifs à l'histoire des monnaies...*, pp. 132-3, pour les autres. Ces références se retrouvent, sauf pour le premier texte, dans Guilhaume et Dieudonné, op. cit., sous les n°s 74, 79, 85.

premier examen rapide et partiel, une bonne quantité d'esterlins à la croix courte de la classe VII à côté d'autres pièces, françaises et étrangères.

Telles sont les conclusions auxquelles il semble que l'on puisse aboutir. Sans doute restent-elles précaires, fondées, comme elles le sont, sur des inventaires de trésors qui, ainsi qu'on le lira, présentent beaucoup de lacunes.

Cet article n'aurait pas vu le jour sans M. Blunt. M'ayant invité à donner une note sur l'un des trésors du Mans dont je lui avais parlé il accepta par la suite ma proposition de présenter l'ensemble des trésors français contenant des esterlins à la croix courte que l'on pouvait répertorier. Étant à l'origine de cet article, qu'il veuille bien trouver ici l'expression de ma plus vive gratitude.

Sans M. Brand je n'aurais su classer correctement les esterlins à la croix courte publiés et inventoriés ici. Une bibliographie ne remplace pas la fréquentation qu'il a de ces pièces. Il m'a livré toutes ses connaissances en ce domaine et les discussions que nous avons eues ensemble ont beaucoup aidé à la mise au point de ce travail. Qu'il soit assuré de toute ma reconnaissance pour la peine qu'il s'est donnée et qu'il a jugée trop modeste : son nom devrait être accolé au mien comme auteur de ce texte.

Je ne saurais trop remercier M. Ian Stewart pour les notes sur les esterlins écossais qu'il m'a fait parvenir par l'entremise de M. Brand. Que l'un et l'autre veuillent bien me pardonner si en traduisant et en utilisant leurs notes j'ai commis quelque erreur. Je remercie également M. Pagan qui a eu l'amabilité de me signaler les trésors de Corpe et de Pontchâteau.

Je me rends compte que le travail présenté ne répond pas entièrement aux résultats espérés. Il est fondé sur des données qui sont par trop souvent imprécises. J'ose espérer toutefois qu'il donnera aux lecteurs du *BNJ* un aperçu suffisant de la présence des esterlins à la croix courte en France dans les trésors de la fin du XII^e et de la première moitié du XIII^e siècle.

CATALOGUE DES ESTERLINS À LA CROIX COURTE DES TROIS TRÉSORS DU MANS

LE MANS I

CANTORBÉRY

1. Goldwine	Classe IVa	+ GOLDWINE. ON. CA	1,25g	Desjobert 1838
2. Meinir	IVb	+ MEINIR. ON. CAI (HENRICVSRCØEX)	1,40	Desjobert 1838
3. Reinaud	IVa	+ REINAUD. ON. CA	1,51	Desjobert 1838
4. Ulard	Ila	+ VLARD. ON. CANT (HENRI. CVSRCØEX)	1,47	Desjobert 1838
5.	IVa	+ VLARD. ON. CAN	1,13	Desjobert 1838

LONDRES

6. Filip Aimer	Ib	+ FILAIMER. ON. LVN	1,42	Desjobert 1838
7. Aimer	IVa	+ AIMER. ON. LVND	1,475	Desjobert 1838
8. Alain	Ib	+ ALAIN. ON. LVND	1,395	Desjobert 1838
9. Iohan	Ib	+ IOHAN. ON. LVNDE	1,35	..
10. Pieres M	Ib	+ PIERES. M. ON. LVN	1,45	Desjobert 1838

NORTHAMPTON

11. Hugo	Ib	+HVGO.ON.NORHT	1,33	Desjobert 1838
12. Raul	Ib	+RAVL.ON.NORHT	1,43	Desjobert 1838

OXFORD

13. Rodbert	Ib	+RODBERT.ON.OXEN	1,31	Desjobert 1838
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WINCHESTER

14. Gocelm	Ib	+GOCELM.ON.WINC	1,40	Desjobert 1838
15. Osber	Ib	+OSBER.ON.WINC	1,29	Desjobert 1838

LE MANS II

CANTORBÉRY

1. Goldwine	Classe IVa	+GOLDWI-E.ON.CA	1,35g	
2. Meinir	IVa	+MEINIR.ON.CAN	1,44	
3. Reinald	IIIb	+REINALD.ON.CA	1,53	
4.	IIIb	+REINALD.ON.CA	1,46	
5.	IVa	+REINALD.ON.CAN	1,32	
6. Reinaud	IVa	+REINAVD.ON.CA	1,46	
7. Roberd	IIIb	+ROBERD.ON.CAN (Boucles 2/5)	1,44	

CARLISLE

8. Alain	Ib	+ALAIN.ON.CARD	1,49	
9.	Ib	+ALAIN.ON—ARD	1,30	

EXETER

10. Ricard	Ib	+RICARD.ON.EXEC	1,35	
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LINCOLN

11. Lefwine	Ic	+LEFWINE.O—ICO	1,46	
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LONDRES

12. Davi	Ib	+D—I.ON.LVND	1,42	
13. Henri	Ia	+HENRI.ON.LVND (HENRICVS.RØEX)	1,46	
14. Iohan	Ia	+IOHAN.ON.LVND (HENRICVS.RØEX)	1,45	
15.	Ib	+IOHAN.ON.LVND	1,40	
16. Osber	Ib	+OSBER.ON—VND (Pas de point au droit)	1,02	
17. Pieres	Ib	+PIERRES.ON.LVND	1,43	
18. Raul	Ib	+RAVL.ON.LVND	1,10	
19.	Ib	+RAVL.ON.LVND	1,43	
20.	Ib	+RAVL.ON.LVNDE	1,44	
21.	Ic	+RAVL.ON.LVND	1,41	
22.	Ic	+RAVL.ON.LVNDE	1,42	
23.	Ic	+RAVL.ON.LVNDE	1,28	
24.	Ic	+RAVL.ON.LVNDE	1,17	
25.	Ic	+RAVL.ON.LVNDE	1,40	
26.	Ic	+RAVL.ON.LYNDE	1,46	

27.	Ila	+RAVL.ON.LVND	1,42
28.	Ila	+RAVL.ON.LVNDÉ	1,44
29. Ricard	IIIb	+RICARD.ON.LVND	1,43
30.	IIIb	+RICARD.ON.LVND	1,10
31.	IVa*	+RICARD.ON.LVND:	1,39
32. Stivene	IVa	+STIVENE.ON.LVN	1,49
33. Willelm	IVa	+WILLELM.ON.LVN	1,45
34.	IVa	+WILLELM.ON.LVN	1,42
35.	IVa	+WILLELM.ON.LVND: (3 ^e 'L' omis)	1,47
36.	IVb	+WILLELM.ON.LVN (1 ^{er} omis)	1,41
OXFORD			
37. Ricard	Ib	+RICARD.ON.OXE-	1,28
38. Sagar	Ib	+SAGAR.ON.OXEN	1,44
WINCHESTER			
39. Gocelm	Ib	+GOCELM.ON.WINC	1,43
40.	Ic	+GOCELM.ON.WNIC (au lieu de WINC)	1,44
41.	IIIb	+GOCELM.ON.WIN (HENRICVSIOREX)	1,30
42. Rodbert	Ib	+RODBERT.ON.WINC	1,47
43. Willelm	IIIb	+WILLELM.ON.WIN	1,45
WORCESTER			
44. Osbern	IIIa	+OSBERN.ON.WIRE	1,37
YORK			
45. Alain	Ib	+ALAIN.ON.EVER	1,43
46. Turkil	Ib	+TYRKIL.ON.EVER	1,27
47.	IVa	+TYRK——.EVER	1,38

LE MANS III

EXETER			
1. Ricard	Classe Ib/Ia	+RICARD.ON.EXEC	1,42g
LONDRES			
2. Aimer	IVa	+AIMER.ON.LVNDEI	1,475
3. Osber	Ib	+OSBER.ON.LVND	1,43
4. Stivene	IVa	+STIVENE.ON.LVN	1,48
OXFORD			
5. Jefrei	Ib	+JEFREI.ON.OXENE Sans boucle sur le côté gauche de la tête	1,39
WINCHESTER			
6. Adam	Ib ou Ic	+ADAM.ON.WNC (au lieu de WINC)	1,16
7. Willelm	IVa	+WILLELM.ON.W—	1,46

Les trois lots d'esterlins à la croix courte de la région du Mans, qui sont la raison d'être de cet article, sont composés tous trois d'émissions précédant la nouvelle frappe ordonnée par Jean Sans Terre en 1205. Chacun se présente comme un ensemble homogène que l'on trouverait sans surprise en Angleterre, encore que peu de trésors anglais de cette période soient recensés. Par le tableau ci-dessous l'on se rendra compte que les deux plus petits lots, en raison de leur petitesse, ne pouvaient contenir de types plus rares sauf par hasard, tandis que le lot le plus important possède tous les sous-types au moins à un exemplaire chacun. Le gros est formé des classes Ib/Ic et IV. Les deux premiers lots sont clos l'un et l'autre avec un exemplaire de la classe IVb dont la frappe ne peut avoir été exécutée que peu avant 1196 si ce n'est quelques années plus tard. Il n'y a pas lieu de croire que le troisième lot est nécessairement d'une date antérieure. Essayer de donner une date plus précise à ces trois lots serait forcer indûment leur témoignage. Chacun d'eux doit être daté de 1200 ± 4 et probablement plus tôt que plus tard dans cet espace de temps.

Si des événements militaires sont à l'origine de l'enfouissement de ces trois trésors l'on doit songer aux prises de la ville du Mans par Jean Sans Terre et Philippe-Auguste en mai et septembre 1199 ainsi qu'aux combats dans tout le Maine à l'époque qui précède le traité du Goulet (22 mai 1200) ou bien aux opérations militaires plus tardives dans ces mêmes régions de l'été 1202 et d'avril 1203.

TABLEAU DE RÉPARTITION

<i>Classes:</i>	<i>Le Mans I</i>	<i>Le Mans II</i>	<i>Le Mans III</i>
Ia		2	
Ib	9	16	4*
Ic		8	
IIa	1	2	
IIIa		1	
IIIb		7	
IVa	4	10	3
IVb	1	1	
	<u>15</u>	<u>47</u>	<u>7</u>

* L'un des quatre, l'esterlin d'Adam de Winchester, est à classer soit en Ib soit en Ic.

PLANCHE I

1. Esterlin. Londres, Henri, cl. Ia (Le Mans II n° 13)
2. Id. Id., Iohan, cl. Ia (Id. n° 14)
3. Id. Id., Osber, cl. Ib (Le Mans III, B.N. 346^e)
4. Id. Id., Filip Aimer, Ib (Le Mans I, B.N. 344)
5. Id. Oxford, Iefrei, cl. Ib (Le Mans III, B.N. 349^a)
6. Id. Londres, Raul, cl. Ic (Le Mans II, n° 23)
7. Id. Cantorbéry, Vlard, cl. IIa (Le Mans I, B.N. 339)
8. Id. Worcester, Osbern, cl. IIIa (Le Mans II, n° 44)
9. Id. Winchester, Willelm, cl. IIIb (Le Mans II, n° 41)
10. Id. Londres, Aimer, cl. IVa (Le Mans I, B.N. 342)
11. Id. Cantorbéry, Meinir, cl. IVb (Le Mans I, B.N. 337)
12. Denier tournois de Philippe II (SCS MARTINVS)

13. Id. (TVRONVS CIVI)
14. Id. de Louis VIII-Louis IX
15. Denier d'Anjou, au nom et au monogramme de Foulques
16. Id. au nom de Geoffroi et au monogramme de Foulques
17. Denier du Maine au monogramme d'Erbert
18. Denier de Tours au nom de Saint-Martin de Tours
19. Denier de Guingamp
20. Denier anonyme de Bretagne (du temps de Pierre Mauclerc), atelier de Guingamp
21. Id. Nantes
22. Id. Rennes
23. Denier anonyme de Chateaudun
24. Denier anonyme de Vendôme
25. Denier de Gien, à l'imitation du denier d'Anjou au nom de Geoffroi
26. Denier de Déols au nom de Raoul
27. Id. au nom de Philippe-Auguste
28. Denier d'Issoudun au nom de Richard Cœur de Lion
29. Denier du Poitou au nom de Richard Cœur de Lion
30. Denier d'Aquitaine au nom de Richard Cœur de Lion
31. Denier d'Angoulême
32. Denier de la Marche
33. Denier de Nevers au nom de Hervé de Donzy
34. Denier de Gui, de Montluçon

Où voudra bien trouver ci-après les analyses par activation neutronique d'un certain nombre de pièces du second trésor du Mans (Le Mans II), analyses faites à partir de prélèvements (*streaks*) pratiqués par M. Adon A. Gordus sur ces pièces en juin 1970. Il a paru bon de livrer ces résultats, aucune analyse de ce genre n'ayant été encore publiée concernant les esterlins à la croix courte. Ils confirment l'excellent titre du métal qu'on leur connaissait. Aucun commentaire n'est joint, seules les analyses étant faites au moment de la remise de l'article. Pour chaque monnaie il est donné deux résultats d'analyse. Ceux-ci correspondent aux deux prélèvements (*streaks*) faits par M. Gordus sur chaque monnaie. L'on notera que le pourcentage d'or présent en tant qu'impureté dans l'argent est visiblement plus bas dans les pièces postérieures à la classe II.

ANALYSES DE PIÈCES DU TRÉSOR LE MANS II

<i>Streak</i> <i>n°</i>	<i>Run</i>	<i>Trésor</i> <i>n°</i>	<i>Classe</i>	<i>Atelier et</i> <i>monétaire</i>	% <i>Ag</i>	% <i>Cu</i>	% <i>Au</i>	100-% <i>Cu</i>	% <i>Au</i> <i>en Ag</i>
H. 1916	226	14	Ia	Londres	96,3	3,4	0,29	96,6	0,30
1917	240			Iohan	95,8	3,9	0,33	96,1	0,34
H. 1918	226	8	Ib	Carlisle	95,9	3,9	0,23	96,1	0,24
1919	240			Alain	95,2	4,5	0,25	95,5	0,26
H. 1920	226	10	Ib	Exeter	95,3	4,4	0,34	95,6	0,35
1921	240			Ricard	94,9	4,8	0,33	95,2	0,35
H. 1922	226	12	Ib	Londres	96,1	3,7	0,17	96,3	0,18
1923	240			Davi	95,5	4,3	0,17	95,7	0,18
H. 1924	226	17	Ib	Londres	96,3	3,4	0,34	96,6	0,35
1925	240			Pieres	95,9	3,7	0,36	96,3	0,37
H. 1926	226	18	Ib	Londres	96,2	3,6	0,20	96,4	0,21
1927	240			Raul	95,8	4,0	0,20	96,0	0,21

<i>Streak</i> <i>n°</i>	<i>Run</i>	<i>Trésor</i> <i>n°</i>	<i>Classe</i>	<i>Atelier et</i> <i>monétaire</i>	% <i>Ag</i>	% <i>Cu</i>	% <i>Au</i>	100-% <i>Cu</i>	% <i>Au</i> <i>en Ag</i>
H. 1928	226	37	Ib	Oxford	95,4	4,2	0,35	95,8	0,37
1929	240			Ricard	95,7	4,0	0,33	96,0	0,34
H. 1930	226	39	Ib	Winchester	95,5	4,2	0,30	95,8	0,31
1931	240			Gocelm	95,5	4,2	0,33	95,8	0,34
H. 1932	226	45	Ib	York	96,1	3,6	0,27	96,4	0,28
1933	240			Alain	95,4	4,3	0,32	95,7	0,33
H. 1934	226	11	Ic	Lincoln	95,2	4,5	0,34	95,5	0,36
1935	240			Lefwine	95,2	4,7	0,34	95,3	0,36
H. 1936	226	22	Ic	Londres	95,7	4,1	0,21	95,9	0,22
1937	240			Raul	95,6	4,2	0,22	95,8	0,23
H. 1938	226	27	II	Londres	95,9	3,9	0,18	96,1	0,19
1939	240			Raul	95,2	4,6	0,19	95,4	0,20
H. 1940	226	40	Ic	Winchester	94,5	5,3	0,21	94,7	0,22
1941	240			Gocelm	94,3	5,5	0,22	94,5	0,23
H. 1942	226	3	IIIb	Cantorbéry	95,9	4,0	0,067	96,0	0,070
1943	240			Reinald	95,5	4,4	0,067	95,6	0,070
H. 1944	226	30	IIIb	Londres	95,2	4,6	0,19	95,4	0,20
1945	240			Ricard	94,9	4,9	0,21	95,1	0,22
H. 1946	226	43	IIIb	Winchester	95,4	4,5	0,13	95,5	0,14
1947	240			Wilhelm	95,0	4,9	0,14	95,1	0,15
H. 1948	226	31	IVa*	Londres	95,8	4,1	0,096	95,9	0,10
1949	240			Ricard	95,7	4,2	0,094	95,8	0,098
H. 1950	226	1	IVa	Cantorbéry	95,2	4,7	0,11	95,3	0,12
1951	240			Goldwine	94,8	5,1	0,12	94,9	0,13
H. 1952	226	35	IVa	Londres	95,7	4,4	0,12	95,6	0,13
1953	240			Willelm	95,0	4,9	0,13	95,1	0,14
H. 1954	226	32	IVa	Londres	95,4	4,5	0,14	95,5	0,15
1955	240			Stivene	95,6	4,3	0,14	95,7	0,15
H. 1956	226	47	IVa	York	95,7	4,3	0,032	95,7	0,033
1957	240			Turkil	95,4	4,6	0,036	95,4	0,038
H. 1958	226	33	IVb	Londres	95,9	4,0	0,096	96,0	0,10
1959	240			Willelm	95,7	4,2	0,096	95,8	0,10

INVENTAIRE DES TRÉSORS FRANÇAIS CONTENANT DES ESTERLINS ANGLAIS À LA CROIX COURTE

L'inventaire est dressé dans l'ordre alphabétique des noms de lieux. Sauf indications contraires les références des monnaies anglaises, écossaises, irlandaises et françaises sont données comme il est indiqué ci-après.

Esterlins anglais à la croix courte

Les références sont données aux classes telles que L. A. Lawrence les a établies dans son article, «The Short-cross Coinage, 1180 to 1247», *BNJ* xi, 2nd ser., t. i (1915), pp. 59-100 et pl. et telles qu'elles ont été modifiées par John D. Brand dans «Some Short-cross Questions», *BNJ* xxxiii, (1964), pp. 57-69, et «The Short Cross Coins of Rhuddlan», *BNJ* xxxiv (1965), pp. 90-7.

La chronologie des différentes classes peut être établie comme suit :

cl. I	1180 — <i>ca.</i> 1189
— II	<i>ca.</i> 1189
— III	<i>ca.</i> 1189-94
— IV	1194-1204
— V	1205 — <i>ca.</i> 1210

cl. VI	ca. 1210-17
— VII	1217-42
— VIII	1242-7

Chaque classe est divisée en sous-classes a, b, c... mais il n'est pas possible de donner une datation précise à chacune d'elles.

Esterlins écossais à la croix courte

Le monnayage écossais à la croix courte dura de 1195 à 1250 et se divise en cinq phases,¹ a à e, chacune de durée inégale.

Phase a

Les monnaies portent des noms d'ateliers:

Edinburgh — monnayeur Hue.

Perth — monnayeurs: Walter et, pour un seul coin, Hugo.

Roxburgh — monnayeur Raul.

Au droit *Willelmus Rex* ordinairement plutôt que *Le Rei Wilame*.

Phase b

Monnaies sans noms d'atelier mais avec noms de monnayeurs, ordinairement Hue Walter.

Au droit *Le Rei Wilame*, bien que certains coins parmi les plus anciens et les plus récents portent *Willelmus Rex*.

Phase c

Bien que certainement posthumes (après 1214), les monnaies portent le nom de Guillaume le Lion dans la forme latine et sortent de l'atelier de Roxburgh.

Phases d et e

Monnaies aux noms d'Alexandre II et III.

Sauf exception (2 coins de la phase a à Roxburgh et un de la phase b dont le type est inversé et la légende rétrograde) les pièces des phases a et b présentent le type du buste couronné à g. tenant un sceptre.

Pour les illustrations, voy. I. H. Stewart, *The Scottish Coinage*, Londres, 1955.

Une chronologie précise des différentes phases ne peut être encore établie. Mais les trésors comme Rédené et Vallon, enfouis avant 1205, démontrent que les pièces de la phase a sont bien les plus anciennes et que la pièce à la légende *Hue Walter on* du trésor de Vallon est à placer au début de la phase b.

La référence à Burns signifie: E. Burns, *The Coinage of Scotland*, vol. i (1887).

Esterlins irlandais au nom de Jean Sans Terre, roi

La frappe de ces pièces se situe entre ca. 1204 et 1210/11. Pour la chronologie, voy. R. H. M. Dolley, «The Continental Hoard-evidence for the Chronology of the Anglo-Irish Pence of John», *The Numismatic Circular*, vol. lxxiv (1966), pp. 30-2. Il y a des deniers, des demi-deniers et des quarts de denier.

Les esterlins irlandais des trésors français sont tous des deniers.

Monnaies françaises

Monnaies royales françaises

Étant donné le petit nombre de ces monnaies il a été donné, après chacune d'elles, référence à J. Lafaurie, *Les Monnaies des rois de France*, t. i, Paris, Bâle, 1951, sous la forme abrégée Laf. suivie du numéro.

¹ Voy. I. H. Stewart, *Scottish Mints*, dans le *Baldwin Memorial Volume* à paraître.

Monnaies féodales françaises

Étant donné leur très grand nombre il n'a pas été donné de référence après chaque monnaie. On trouvera ci-après un catalogue de ces références auxquelles on devra se reporter pour toutes les monnaies féodales citées dans chaque trésor, sauf indication contraire.

P.A. signifie F. Poey d'Avant, *Monnaies féodales de France*, Paris, 1858-62, 3 vol. in-4°.

BRETAGNE

CONAN III (1112-48) P.A. 268, pl. IX, 16.

GEOFFROI, comte de Nantes (1156-8) P.A. 271, pl. IX, 18.

CONAN IV (1158-69) P.A. 273, pl. IX, 19.

GEOFFROI II (1169-86) P.A. 275, pl. IX, 20.

PENTHIÈVRE (Guingamp)

STEPHAN COM Croix cantonnée d'l étoile aux 1 et 2. Rev. + GVINGAMP Profil à droite P.A. 1446-8, pl. XXVII, 9 et 10 ou 1451-6, id. 13-16.

ALAIN DE GOELLO (1184-1212) P.A. 1450, pl. XXVII, 12.

PIERRE MAUCLERC (1213-37) Frappe de ces pièces jusque vers 1240. + DVX BRITANIE Croix dans un polylobe. Rev. + STEPPAN COM Croix pattée P.A. 314; pl. X, 15.

ou Rev. GVINGAMP P.A. 318, pl. X, 16.

Rev. NANTIS CIVI P.A. 277, pl. X, 1...

Rev. REDONIS CIVI P.A. 291, pl. X, 5...

ANJOU

FVLCO COMES Rev. VRBS ANDEGAVIS P.A. 1499, 1503.

Id. ANDEGAVS P.A. 1506

AIDCCSV P.A. 1492, 1495, 1498...

Id. ANDEGAVENSIS P.A. 1494, 1510-13.

GOSFRIDVS COMS Rev. VRBS ADEGAV P.A. 1467.

Id. ADEGAIS

Id. AIDCCV P.A. 1469...

MAINE

COMES CENOMANNIS Monogramme d'Erbert Rev. SIGNVM DEI VIVI Croix cantonnée de besants et d'un alpha et d'un oméga P.A. 1562-4 et 1575-7, pl. XXX, 1 à 5.

TOURS

SCS MARTINVS Châtel tournois Rev. TVRONVS CIVI Croix P.A. 1637-46, pl. XXXI, 12-15.

ORLÉANAIS

CHARTRES Tête dégénérée à droite Rev. CARTIS CIVITAS Croix P.A. 1736-42, pl. XXXIV, 7-12.

VENDÔME Tête dégénérée à dr. Rev. VDOM CAOSTO P.A. 1778-83.

Pièces signées JEAN III (1207-18) P.A. 1791-7, pl. XXXVI, 8-13.

JEAN IV (1218-39) P.A. 1799-1805, pl. XXXVI, 15-17.

PIERRE DE MONTOIRE (1239-49) Oboles P.A. 1809, pl. XXXVI, 20.

CHÂTEAUDUN Tête dégénérée à dr.

Rev. DVNIC: ω A ω TI P.A. 1832, pl. XXXVII, 16 et 17.

Rev. DVNIOSTICI P.A. 1839, id. 21

Pièces signées GEOFFROI IV (1215-35) P.A. 1854-62, pl. XXXVIII, 8-16.

GEOFFROI V (1235-59?) P.A. 1865-71, pl. XXXVIII, 17-21 et XXXIX, 1-2.

PERCHE Tête dégénérée à dr. Rev. + PERTICENSIS Croix P.A. 1901-5, pl. XXXIX, 15-19.

GIEN P.A. 1997-99 pl. XXXXII, 20-2.

BERRY

- DEOLS RADVLVS Croix *Rev. DEDOLIS* Pentalpha P.A. 1949, pl. XXXI, 11.
CHÂTEAUX GUILLAUME I (1203–33) P.A. 1959–63, pl. XXXXI, 17–19.
GUILLAUME II (1233–70) P.A. 1966, id. 21.
ISSAUDUN RICHARD CŒUR DE LION P.A. 1993, pl. XXXXII, 17.
SANCERRE P.A. 2009–10, pl. XXXXIII, 6–7.
VIERZON P.A. 2026–8, pl. XXXXIV, 1–3.
CELLES P.A. 2056–7, pl. XXXXV, 1–2.

NIVERNAIS

- HERVÉ DE DONZY P.A. 2135–9, pl. XXXXVI, 18–21.

BOURBONNAIS

- avec le type de Nevers? P.A. 2195?, pl. XXXVII, 17.
GUI DE MONTLUÇON P.A. 2203–4, pl. XXXXVIII, 15–16.
SOUVIGNY P.A. 2169, pl. XXXXVII, 22.

POITOU

- P.A. 2492–2503, 2569–75, pl. LIV, 7–15.
RICHARD CŒUR DE LION P.A. 2505–66, pl. LIV, 16–23.
SAVARY DE MAULÉON P.A. 2600–2, pl. LV, 18–20.

MARCHE

- HUGUES X (1209–49) P.A. 2609–23, pl. LVI, 4–9.

ANGOULÊME

- P.A. 2663, pl. LVII, 6.

PÉRIGORD

- P.A. 2676, pl. LVII, 14.

AQUITAINE

- RICHARD CŒUR DE LION P.A. 2762, 2768–9, pl. LX, 4, 8–9.

BÉARN

- P.A. 3234–5, pl. LXIX, 8–10.

CHAMPAGNE

- THIBAUT IV (1201–53) P.A. 5978–82, pl. CXXXVIII, 23–5.
REIMS. GUILLAUME I ou II P.A. 6071–3, pl. CXLI, 1–2.
P.A. 6079, *id.* 5.
SOISSONS. RAOUL (1180–1237) P.A. 6487–91, pl. CLI, 13–14.

I. ALÉNÇON (Orne)

Trésor découvert en octobre 1840. Voy. Lecointre-Dupont, « Lettre sur l'histoire monétaire de la Normandie... », *Revue numismatique*..., année 1842, pp. 124–5. « Le trésor fut presque aussitôt dispersé et une bonne partie des pièces qui le composaient passa au Mans, à Vannes etc.... » Le quart du trésor fut vu par l'auteur grâce à un collectionneur, M. Léon de la Sicotière. Note 1 de la page 125: « Avant que M. de la Sicotière eût acheté son lot, un amateur avait choisi sur la masse environ quarante des plus beaux esterlins de Henri II... Parmi ces esterlins un de Guillaume, roi d'Écosse, frappé à Preston par le monétaire Vatieur ou Gattier (Water on Port). J'ai su aussi qu'il s'était trouvé dans le petit trésor d'Alençon un denier de Rennes, DVX BRITANE *Rev. REDONIS CIVI* et un des deniers bien connus de Louis VI ou Louis VII, frappés à Orléans. »

1 Louis VI ou Louis VII. Denier d'Orléans. (Laf. 130 ou 154).

94 Anjou. FVLCO COMES *Rev.* VRBS ANDEGAVIS OU ANDEGAVS OU AIDCCSV OU ANDEGAVENSIS.

23 Angleterre. Esterlins de Henri II, frappés à Londres, à Cantorbéry, etc.

2 Écosse. WILELMVS (1155–1214) *Rev.* HVE ON EDEGBVR et Walter à Perth.

1 Rennes. Anonyme.

1 Chartres. CARTIS CIVITAS

16 Châteaudun. DYNIC: SASTI

27 Id. DVNI OSTILI

1 Déols. RADVLVS *Rev.* DE DOLI

2 Gien GOSVDVSCOS *Rev.* GIEMIS CA

37 Guingamp. STEPHAN COM *Rev.* GVINGAMP

31 Le Mans. COMES CNEOMANNIS et CENOMANNIS avec le monogramme d'Erbert et *Rev.* SIGNVM DEI VIVI

9 Tours. SCS MARTINVS *Rev.* TVRONVS CIVI

13 Vendôme. VDOMCAOSTA

30 Frustes.

Au total 288 pièces repérées.

[Commentaire: Les pièces qui datent le trésor sont les esterlins écossais, les pièces de Châteaudun, de Vendôme et de Rennes. Les deux esterlins écossais sont de la phase *a* HVE ON EDEGBVR pour OH EDDBVR, Burns fig. 40D ou :OH EDIEBVR, Burns fig. 41 — WALTER ON PERT, Burns fig. 44A, l'une des deux pièces pouvant à la rigueur être classée en phase *b*. Les pièces de Châteaudun et de Vendôme sont à dater d'avant 1215 et 1207. Mais la pièce anonyme de Rennes est à dater de Pierre Mauclerc. Le trésor ne pourrait donc avoir été enfoui avant 1213. N'oublions pas que l'inventaire donné par Lecoindre-Dupont est très incomplet.]

2. AVIRON (Eure, ar. et c. d'Évreux, lieu-dit Saint-Michel, com. d')

Trésor découvert deux ans environ avant la communication de P.-G. Brunet, dans *Congrès archéologique*, t. xxxi (1865), pp. 444–5. Un laboureur heurtant sa charrue sur un vieux chêne brisa un petit pot en terre cuite.

400 pièces de monnaie «dont un quart de monnaies royales en argent...» Les pièces avaient été mises dans un petit sac en toile fine avant d'être déposées dans le pot. Les monnaies royales sont les esterlins de Henri II: Au *Rev.* STIVEN. ON. LVNDE. «La légende du revers varie beaucoup. On trouve aussi HENRI. ON. LVND. etc...» Les autres pièces sont celles du Mans, d'Anjou (*Fulco Comes* et *Vrbs Andegavis*), de Guingamp (*STEPHANO Rev.* GVINGAMP), ces dernières formant la moitié du trésor, de Saint-Martin-de-Tours.

[Sur 400 pièces: 200 pièces de Guingamp, 100 esterlins à la croix courte, le reste fait de monnaies du Mans, d'Anjou et de Tours. Ces esterlins sont des monétaires Stivene (cl. Ic–IV) et Henri (cl. Iab, IV et V). Les autres monnaies ne peuvent apporter d'éléments précis de datation. L'absence de monnaies royales françaises, les classes les plus récentes des esterlins conduisent à dater l'enfouissement des environs de 1205.]

3. BAIS (Ille-et-Vilaine, ar. Vitré, c. de La Guerche, champ de la ferme de La Houssaye, com. de)

H. Bourde de La Rogerie, «Note sur un trésor de monnaies du XII^e s. découvert à Bais», *Bulletin et mémoires de la société archéologique du département d'Ille-et-Vilaine*, t. lix (1933), pp. 33–42 et note dans *Revue numismatique*, année 1933, p. 113.

597 pièces

51 Tours.

148 Anjou. FVLCO COMES VRBS ANDEGAVIS OU ANDEGAVS OU ANDEGAIS, 18 pièces avec AHCSSV

84 Le Mans. var. avec CENOMANIS, 1 pièce à légende rétrograde: + SIHONEC SEMOC P.A. 1575, var., pl. XXX, 4.

4 Vendôme, à la légende VDONCAOSTO (cf. fig. 371 du *Manuel de numismatique moderne* de Barthélemy)

4 Châteaudun à la légende + DYNIC: CASTI Croix cantonnée d'un S aux 2 et 3.

- 5 Gien. + GOSEDVSCOS Croix pattée cantonnée au 2 d'un maillet et au 3 d'un triangle isocèle.
Au Rev. monogramme imité du monogramme de Foulque et + GIEMSCA
- 8 Angleterre, Esterlins à la croix courte. Sur l'un AIMER.ON.LVND «Sur les autres la légende qui donnait comme pour celui-ci le nom du monnayeur et celui de la ville où il opérait a été rognée». Sur l'une on croit lire WITVC.ON... et sur l'autre G...ON.CANT
- 1 Rennes ou Nantes (Geoffroi II). + GAVERIDVS Croix cantonnée aux 3 et 4 d'un besant Rev. DVX dans le champ et légende circulaire BRITANNIE
- 3 Geoffroi, comte de Nantes. + GAVERIDVS Croix avec anneau au cœur Rev. + DVX BRITANNIE
Fleur de lis au pied nourri, cantonnée de 4 annelets

289 Guingamp. STEPHAN.COM Rev. GVINGAMP

[Absence de monnaies royales françaises. Anonymes de Vendôme avant 1207. Aimer de Londres couvre les classes Ib à Iv. WITVC est peut-être une mauvaise lecture pour Godwine (Worcester), Goldwine (Cantorbéry), Lefwine (Lincoln), Ailwine (Oxford). Goldwine à Cantorbéry est plus connu dans la classe IV. Si le nom est Coldwine la pièce appartiendrait à la classe V. Enfouissement avant 1205?]

4. BÉGANNE (Morbihan, ar. Vannes, c. Allaire)

1,200 à 1,500 monnaies enfermées dans un vase de terre, trouvées le 1^{er} février 1883, à une profondeur de 2m. environ, sous des tombes du XVII^e siècle, sous l'église de Béganne. Xavier de La Touche, «Une découverte de monnaies du XIII^e siècle», *Bulletin de la société archéologique de Nantes*, t. xxii (1883), p. 176.

380 monnaies examinées: 191 Guingamp, 25 Anjou au nom de Foulque, 75 Gien, 11 de Philippe II, de Tours (Laf. 193 ou 194), 1 du même roi, de Rennes (Laf. 180), 75 de Tours. «De plus deux monnaies de Henri II d'Angleterre (1154-89)» portant au revers «AIMER.ON.LVND»

[Les monnaies anglaises, des classes extrêmes Ib-IV, sont antérieures aux monnaies royales françaises (les tournois de Tours à partir de 1205, le denier tournois de Rennes entre 1206 et 1213).]

5. BONNEVAL (Eure-et-Loir, ar. de Châteaudun, près de)

Découverte, en 1912 (?), d'un esterlin à la croix courte de Henri II. Au Rev. + EVER.ARD.ON.EV.

[Classe I-IV.]

Bulletin de la société dunoise, t. xii (1909-12), p. 463.

6. BOURG-DUN (Seine-Maritime, ar. Dieppe, c. Offranville)

Michel Hardy, «Une cachette monétaire du XII^e siècle», *Bulletin de la commission des antiquités de la Seine-Inférieure*, t. iv (1876-8), pp. 220-2.

Soixante monnaies du trésor examinées: 28 Anjou, 18 Guingamp, 8 Tours, 6 Le Mans, 2 esterlins de Henri II, au Rev. + VL(A?)...D...ON.CAT.

[Les deux esterlins du monétaire Vlard, de Cantorbéry, des classes extrêmes II à IV, sont les seuls éléments de datation du trésor.]

7. CAEN (Calvados)

Trésor découvert en 1823 en démolissant la chapelle de la Maladrerie. Lecointre-Dupont, «Lettre sur l'histoire monétaire de la Normandie», *Revue numismatique*, année 1842, p. 122.

«Plusieurs milliers de deniers mançais..., angevins au nom de Foulque, tournois au nom de Saint-Martin, et d'esterlins au nom de Henri II. Les esterlins et les tournois étaient les moins nombreux». Note I: Renseignements communiqués par M. de Gerville. — Voir aussi les appendices de M. Léchaudé d'Anisy aux *Antiquités anglo-normandes* de Ducarel, p. 318: *Antiquités anglo-normandes de Ducarel, traduites de l'anglais par A. L. Léchaudé d'Anisy*,... Caen, Mancel, 1823: «La démolition récente de la chapelle de la Maladrerie, dite de Beaulieu, a fait découvrir une assez grande quantité de monnaies des ducs d'Aquitaine, des comtes du Mans, de la ville de Tours et d'Henri II, roi d'Angleterre et duc de Normandie... Je dois à la générosité de M. Diez, directeur de la maison centrale de Beaulieu, les trois pièces de monnaie suivantes qu'il a sauvées de la rapacité des ouvriers, qui les trouvèrent dans la démolition de la chapelle.»

La 1^{ère} pièce figure sous le n° 116 de la pl. XXXIV du livre, c'est un esterlin de Henri II à la croix courte du monnayeur Walter, de Lincoln (class Ib). La seconde pièce (fig. n° 117 de la même planche) est une pièce du Mans.

P. 319 « D'autres pièces de billon de la ville de Tours se trouvaient aussi dans cette même fouille. Le numéro 118... » de la même planche est un *Ludovicus rex — Turonus civis*.

[Si cette dernière pièce faisait partie du trésor de la Maladrerie celui-ci aurait été enfoui sous Louis IX, mais l'auteur publie cette pièce pour l'attribuer à Louis VII. Est-ce bien la troisième pièce sauvée du trésor? Les renseignements obtenus par Lecointre-Dupont de M. de Gerville sont peut-être plus sûrs. Excluent-ils deniers tournois de Louis IX? Si les esterlins et les tournois sont les pièces les moins nombreuses, il se peut qu'elles soient les plus anciennes et les plus récentes. Mais je croirais plutôt à des pièces de Saint-Martin-de-Tours qu'à des deniers tournois de Louis IX.]

8. CARAN (Morbihan, lieu-dit) d'après *Annuaire de la société française de numismatique*, t. iii (1868), p. 395.

Trésor de 200 à 300 pièces, dont 5 du Mans, 4 de Henri II d'Angleterre et une autre d'un autre roi Henri I^{er}. (Trésor acquis par le musée de Vannes.)

9. CARO (Morbihan, ar. Vannes, c. Malestroit).

Trésor en cours d'étude au Cabinet des Médailles, mais incomplet.

Bretagne	1 denier de Conan III (1112-48)
	10 deniers de Geoffroi II (1171-86)
Châteaudun	6 deniers anonymes (DVHIOSTIII et DVNI CZA-TV)
Gien	35 deniers
Le Mans	50 deniers
Anjou	150 deniers
Guingamp	1386 deniers

Esterlins à la croix courte: 2, de Londres, des monétaires Ricard et Willelm, le premier de la classe IVa, le second de la classe IVb.

[Les deux esterlins datent le trésor des années 1194-1204.]

10. CORNÉ (Maine-et-Loire, ar. Angers, c. Beaufort-en-Vallée)

Il y aurait eu, peut-être, une centaine d'esterlins à la croix courte, avec les pièces du type Tealby signalées par F. Elmore-Jones, « A Parcel of 'Tealby' Type Pennies from France », *Numismatic Circular*, 1966, pp. 125-6.

D'après M. Brand la maison Spink acheta en 1966 une certaine quantité de pièces médiévales anglaises provenant de France, dont M. Elmore-Jones publia les pièces de type Tealby ayant, selon lui, appartenu au trésor de Corné. M. Brand put examiner l'ensemble du lot mais ne fit pas l'inventaire complet des pièces. Il pense pouvoir donner la liste approximative suivante:

Esterlins type Tealby	16
— à la croix courte	entre 150 et 200
— à la croix longue	aucun
Esterlins au nom d'Édouard	environ 50

Il est douteux, selon M. Brand, que les pièces achetées par Spink proviennent toutes d'un seul trésor. Les pièces à la croix courte, elles-mêmes, ne semblent pas appartenir au même trésor, ou, s'il en était ainsi, celui-ci ne serait absolument pas conforme aux trésors anglais habituels: les pièces les plus nombreuses sont de la classe IVa de Londres et de Cantorbéry avec quelques-unes de la classe IVb. Viennent ensuite les pièces des classes Ib, Ic, quelques-unes de la classe V et deux de la classe VII. Il n'y en a aucune de la classe VI. Il faut y ajouter deux exemplaires de l'atelier de Rhuddlan, du monnayeur Halli et une imitation (continentale?) de la classe V de l'atelier de Rochester (cf. *BNJ* xxxiii, p. 64, n. 4). Voici la liste des pièces achetées par M. Brand, liste nullement représentative de tout le lot

(M. Brand ayant acheté toutes les monnaies des classes Ia, IIa et III ainsi que les deux pièces de Rhuddlan et l'imitation). Elles sont présentées, par classes et par ateliers:

Ia	York	Efrard (1)
Ia/Ib	Londres	Pieres M (1)
Ib	Carlisle	Alain (1)
	Londres	Aimer (2); Alain (1); Alain V (1); Henri (1); Iohan (1); Pieres (2); Reinald (1)
	Northampton	Walter (1)
	Wilton	Rodbert (1)
	York	Isac (1)
Ic	Londres	Raul (2)
IIa	Londres	Raul (2); Ricard (2); Willem (1)
	York	Turkil (1)
IIIa	Cantorbéry	Ulard (4)
	Londres	Aimer (3); Willelm (1)
IIIb	Londres	Stivene (1)
IVa	Cantorbéry	Meinir (1); Roberd (1); Ulard (1)
	Carlisle	Alein (1)
	Durham	Alein (1)
	Londres	Willelm (2)
	Norwich	Willelm (1)
	Winchester	Osbern (1); Willelm (2)
	York	Huc (2); Turkil (1)
IVb	Cantorbéry	Meinir (1)
Vc	Durham	Pieres (1)
	Rhuddlan	Halli (2)
	Rochester	Andreu (1)

10 bis. CORPE (Vendée, ar. La Roche-sur-Yon, c. Mareuil-sur-Laye, anc. CORPS).

Fortuné Parenteau, *Inventaire archéologique précédé d'une introduction à l'étude des bijoux*, Nantes, 1878, p. 62, publie une broche d'or (illustrée à la planche 30) trouvée à Corps et ajoute: «N.B. Des tournois de Philippe-Auguste et des sterlings coupés de Jean Sans Terre accompagnaient la découverte». Le village de Corpe n'est qu'à six kilomètres de Mareuil et l'on pourrait penser que les trésors de Corpe et de Mareuil sont un seul et même trésor. Mais dans celui-ci (voy. n° 19), qui fut découvert sur le revers des douves du château de Mareuil, il n'y avait, semble-t-il, aucun bijou.

11. CRÉ-SUR-LE-LOIR (Sarthe, ar. et c. de La Flèche)

Trésor de 350 deniers découvert au mois de juillet 1853 dans l'église de Cré. 307 pièces examinées: 159 Guingamp, 73 Anjou, 39 Le Mans, 32 Tours et 4 «sterlings d'argent pur de Henri II, roi d'Angleterre». Voy. le compte rendu d'E. Hucher dans *Bulletin du comité de la langue, de l'histoire et des arts de la France*, t. ii (1853-5), pp. 20-1. Hucher avait joint à son compte rendu deux planches d'empreintes des pièces. Le secrétaire du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques a noté: «Remerciments et dépôt aux archives». Malheureusement les deux planches d'empreintes n'ont pas été retrouvées dans les archives du comité malgré les recherches effectuées dans le fonds F¹⁷ des Archives nationales par M^{me} Antoine, que je tiens à remercier ici.

[Seuls les esterlins auraient permis de dater le trésor. L'absence de monnaies royales françaises permettrait de dire qu'il aurait été enfoui avant 1205.]

12. GORRON (Mayenne, ar. Mayenne)

Lors de fouilles entreprises pour la construction de l'église neuve on a trouvé des monnaies anglaises et écossaises de la même époque: Henri III, Jean Sans Terre, Richard Cœur de Lion, Guillaume d'Écosse. Voy. *Bulletin de la commission historique et archéologique de la Mayenne*, t. i (1878-9), p. 31.

[Après 1204 à cause des deniers de Jean Sans Terre qui doivent être irlandais. Un certain nombre d'actes de Henri II d'Angleterre sont datés de Gorron. Voy. L. Delisle et F. Berger, *Recueil...*]

13. HOTOT-EN-AUGE (Calvados, ar. Lisieux, c. Cambremer)

Découverte de 4,000 monnaies au cours de la démolition de la vieille église en 1862. 3,944 pièces ont été étudiées par M. Paysant, «Découverte de monnaies féodales, faite en mai 1862, dans les démolitions de l'église de Hottot-en-Auge», *Bulletin de la société des Antiquaires de Normandie*, t. ii (1862), pp. 188-97 et J. Chautard, «Note sur une découverte de petites pièces de monnaie à Hottot-en-Auge (Calvados)», *Bulletin de la société archéologique du Vendômois*, t. i (1862), pp. 105-6, qui apporte un complément à l'étude ci-dessus.

1950	Guingamp	
650	Châteaudun.	DVNIO STIFI (P.A. 1838, pl. XXXVII, 20) et DVNI: SASTI avec croix cantonnée d'un S aux 2 et 3 (P.A. 1831-2, pl. XXXVII, 16 et 17).
600	Anjou.	FVLCO COMES Rev. ANDEGAVS
260	Le Mans.	
160	Vendôme.	VDON CAVSTO
(ou 200)		
20	Tours.	
8	Gien	GOSEDVS.COS. Croix cantonnée de A et ω . Rev. GIEMIS. CA. monogr. renversé de Foulque.
2	Nevers.	Hervé de Donzy
2	Soissons.	Raoul
1	Déols.	Raoul RADVLVS Croix. Rev. DEOLIS Étoile à 5 pointes «d'une rare conservation».
1	Souigny.	SCS MAIOLVS Buste de face Rev. + SILVINIACO
1	Bourbon.	+ LVDOVICVS REX Tête dégénérée Rev. + BORBONENSIS Croix cantonnée d'un trèfle aux 1 et 2.
1	Louis VI, de Dreux (Laf. 106-7)	
90	esterlins	«Quant aux deniers d'argent, ils sont généralement bien conservés, presque tous au type de Henri II Plantagenêt... pour la plupart frappés à Londres de 1154 à 1189... Nous avons constaté une assez grande variété de revers, non pas en ce qui concerne la croix double cantonnée de seize points, quatre par quatre mais bien dans les légendes qui portent les noms des différents monétaires, ainsi que l'indication du lieu où elles ont été frappées. Les pièces de Henri III, ... sont généralement rares: cependant nous en avons compté cinq dans la trouvaille de Hottot... HENRICVS REX. Même revers avec cette variante WILLEM. ON CANT. Le total est de 60 deniers de «Henri II», 5 de «Henri III» et 25 «pièces de Henri II divisées».

[Les pièces françaises les mieux datées sont de Nevers, Hervé de Donzy (1199-1223), de Soissons, Raoul (1180-1237), les pièces de Vendôme et de Châteaudun sont anonymes et datent d'avant 1207 et 1215. La pièce de Bourbon à l'imitation des deniers de Vienne est à placer sans doute après 1216 bien que la description donnée par Chautard ne corresponde pas à une pièce connue. Mais il pourrait s'agir d'une pièce inédite. Les esterlins donnés par M. Paysant à Henri III sont du monétaire Willem de Cantorbéry, monétaire des classes VII et VIII. Étant donné le contexte français ces pièces devraient plutôt appartenir à la classe VII, dans ses débuts, soit 1217-18. L'absence de monnaies royales françaises pose un problème: elle donne au trésor une date plus haute.]

14. LARRÉ (Orne, ar. et c. Alençon)

Trésor découvert en 1826 par un bûcheron en abattant un chêne. Environ 250 monnaies. Voy. Lecoindre-Dupont, op. cit., pp. 123-4.

«La presque totalité du trésor consiste en deniers mançais: les autres, à peine au nombre de 30, étaient des esterlins de Henri II, des angevins au nom de Foulques, des guingampois au nom d'Étienne, des tournois au nom de Saint-Martin.»

[Avant 1205. Les esterlins de Henri II pourraient être aussi des pièces de type Tealby.]

15. LISIEUX (Calvados)

Dix-neuf pièces données au Cabinet des Médailles du *British Museum* par Pierre Le Gentilhomme en 1936, partie d'un trésor découvert en 1935 (?). Toutes les pièces sont des esterlins à la croix courte. Voy. Michael Dolley, «The Sequence of Moneyers at Rhuddlan in the Short-cross Period», *Numismatic Circular*, 1963, p. 226.

Les 19 pièces se décomposent ainsi : 7 de la classe Ib (Exeter : 1 de Roger ; Lincoln : 1 d'Edmond ; Londres : 1 d'Osbert ; 2 de Pieres, une moitié d'esterlin de Raul ; York : 1 d'Alain) ; 3 de la classe Ic (Londres : 2 de Davi ; York : 1 de Hugo) ; 2 de la classe IIa (Cantorbéry : 1 de Goldwine ; Londres : 1 de Stivene) ; 3 de la classe IIIa (Londres : 1 d'Aimer, 1 de Willelm ; York : 1 de Turkil) ; 1 de la classe IIIb (Exeter : 1 de Ricard) ; atelier de Rhuddlan : 1 de Thomas (Dolley, cl. C).

16. LE MANS I

Quinze pièces¹ entrées au Cabinet des Médailles par échange avec M. Desjobert, du Mans, en 1838. L'homogénéité de ces quinze pièces prouve qu'elles proviennent d'un trésor découvert sans doute dans la région. M. Desjobert ne s'intéressait pas aux monnaies médiévales, il est plus connu par ses recherches sur les monnaies romaines découvertes dans la région du Mans. M. John D. Brand dans *Short-cross Coins in Paris, Brussels and the Hague*, Rochester, 1965, p. 1, avait inclus ces quinze pièces dans sa liste des esterlins à la croix courte de Paris. Voy. le catalogue du trésor *supra*.

Les numéros entre parenthèses correspondent aux numéros des pièces dans la série des monnaies anglaises du Cabinet des Médailles.

Classe Ib	Londres	Filip Aimer (n° 344) ; Alain (n° 343) ; Iohan (n° 345) ; Pieres M (n° 346)
	Northampton	Hugo (n° 347) ; Raul (n° 348)
	Oxford	Rodbert (n° 349)
	Winchester	Gocelm (n° 350), Osber (n° 351)
Classe IIa	Cantorbéry	Vlard (n° 339)
Classe IVa	Londres	Aimer (n° 342)
	Cantorbéry	Goldwine (n° 336) ; Reinaud (n° 338) ; Vlard (n° 340)
Classe IVb	Cantorbéry	Meinir (n° 337)

17. LE MANS II

Trésor acquis par M. Castaing chez un antiquaire vers 1960 comme provenant de la région du Mans. Quarante-sept pièces. Voy. le catalogue *supra*.

Classe Ia	Londres	Henri (1) et Iohan (1)
Classe Ib	Carlisle	Alain (2)
	Exeter	Ricard (1)
	Londres	Davi (1) ; Iohan (1) ; Osber (1) ; Pieres (1) ; Raul (3)
	Oxford	Ricard (1) ; Sagar (1)
	Winchester	Gocelm (1) ; Rodbert (1)
	York	Alain (1) ; Turkil (1)
Classe Ic	Lincoln	Lefwine (1)
	Londres	Raul (6)
	Winchester	Gocelm (1)
Classe IIa	Londres	Raul (2)
Classe IIIa	Worcester	Osbern (1)
Classe IIIb	Cantorbéry	Reinald (2) ; Robert (1)
	Londres	Ricard (2)
	Winchester	Gocelm (1) ; Willelm (1)

¹ En fait treize pièces dans les cartons du Cabinet des Médailles portent la mention de l'échange Desjobert, mais l'on peut supposer à juste titre que les n°s 345 (Londres, Iohan) et 336 (Cantorbéry, Goldwine) qui n'ont aucune provenance connue faisaient

partie du lot acquis par échange. En effet les deux autres pièces de la série sont, l'une, un numéro bis, acquis plus tardivement, et l'autre, une pièce de la classe VI bi, qui ne peut entrer dans la composition du trésor.

Classe IVa*	Londres	Ricard (1)
Classe IVa	Cantorbéry	Goldwine (1); Meinir (1); Reinald (1); Reinaud (1)
	Londres	Stivene (1); Willelm (3)
	York	Turkil (1)
Classe IVb	Londres	Willelm (1)

18. LE MANS III

Trésor découvert, il y a quelques années, dans la Sarthe (région du Mans). Un certain nombre d'esterlins anglais sont entrés au Cabinet des Médailles. Le trésor a été étudié par M^{me} F. Dumas, «La circulation monétaire dans les domaines Plantagenêts à travers une trouvaille du XIII^e siècle», *Bulletin de la société française de numismatique*, 24^e année, n° 10 (décembre 1969), pp. 467-8, avec intervention de J. Yvon à la suite.

Le Mans	422 pièces
Anjou	288 pièces dont 286 au nom de Foulques et 2 au nom de Geoffroi, avec VRBS ANDEGAVENSIS, VRBS AIDCCSV, et VRBS ANDEGAVIS.
Tours	58
Bretagne	1 de Conan III (1112-48), de Rennes
Esterlins anglais	14 = 6 de Londres, des monétaires Aimer, Osber et Stivene 5 de Winchester, des monétaires Adam et Willelm 1 d'Oxford, du monétaire Iefrei 1 d'Exeter, du monétaire Ricard 1 de Cantorbéry, du monétaire Roberd

Voy. le catalogue des esterlins de ce trésor *supra*.

Les pièces acquises pour le Cabinet des Médailles par M^{me} Dumas se répartissent ainsi (les numéros entre parenthèses sont les numéros des pièces dans la série des monnaies anglaises du Cabinet).

Classe Ia	Exeter	+RICARD.ON.EXEC (n° 342 ^a)
Classe Ib	Londres	+OSBER.ON.LVN (n° 346 ^c)
	Oxford	+IÆFREI.ON.OXON (n° 349 ^a)
Classe Ic	Winchester	+ADAM.ON.WNC (n° 351 ^a)
Classe IVa	Londres	+AIMER.ON.LVNDRI (n° 346 ^a) +STIVE.ON.LVN (n° 346 ^b)
	Winchester	+WILLELM.ON.W.. (n° 352 ^a)

[L'absence de monnaies royales françaises et la classe IV des esterlins les plus récents datent le trésor d'avant 1205 ou autour de ces années là. Les esterlins qui ne sont pas entrés au Cabinet des Médailles étaient des mêmes classes que ceux qui ont été acquis (Aimer, Osber et Stivene pour Londres, Adam et Willelm pour Winchester). Il est vraisemblable que l'esterlin de Roberd, de Cantorbéry, ne devait pas dépasser la classe IV, les pièces de ce monétaire appartenant généralement à la classe III.]

19. MAREUIL-SUR-LAY (Vendée, ar. La Roche-sur-Yon)

Trésor de 15,500 pièces environ découvert au château de Mareuil en juin 1844. Voy. F. Poey d'Avant, «Notice sur une découverte de monnaies du moyen âge à Mareuil (Vendée)», *Revue numismatique*, année 1844, pp. 374-85, pl. XI; É. Cartier, «Recherches sur les monnaies au type chartrain, chapitre IV — Vendôme», *Revue numismatique*, 1845, p. 124. Pour la datation du trésor, voy. J. Duplessy, «Numismatique de Brosse, Saint-Sévère et Huriel», *ibid.* 1967, p. 90, n. 2, et J. Yvon, «Le trésor de Bouvron...» *ibid.* 1968, pp. 239-40.

Royales

Philippe II: Type paris	Paris: 1 (Laf. 181)
	Arras: 2 (Laf. 183 ou 184)
Type tournois	Tours: 350 (Laf. 193) et 7 (Laf. 194)
	Bretagne: 2 (Laf. 177)
	Guingamp: 1 (Laf. 179)
	Rennes: 3 (Laf. 180)

Louis VIII-Louis IX: 3,500 deniers tournois (Laf. 195)

Féodales

Bretagne:	10 d. de Guingamp 2 d. d'Alain (1184-1212) de Guingamp 6,000 d. anonymes de Nantes 2,000 d. „ „ Rennes 36 d. „ „ Guingamp
Tours:	2,300 d.
Maine:	1,200 d.
Champagne:	Thibaut IV: 9 d. de Provins
Vendôme:	5 d. de Jean III ou Jean IV (1207-18, 1218-39); div. oboles de Pierre de Montoire (1239-49) au type des pièces bretonnes anonymes de Pierre Mauclerc
Châteaudun:	4 d. de Geoffroi IV (1215-35) ou V (1235-53)
Souvigny:	4 d.
Celles:	3 d. au type chartrain, de Robert I (1178-89)
Reims:	1 d. de Guillaume I (1176-1204) ou II (1219-27)
Déols:	1 d. de Guillaume I (1203-33)
Bar:	1 d. d'Henri II (1214-40) — F. de Saulcy, <i>Recherches sur les monnaies des comtes et ducs de Bar</i> ..., Paris, 1843, p. 19, pl. I, 1.
Angleterre:	Quelques moitiés d'esterlins. L'auteur écrit, p. 376 de la publication: «Dans toutes les fractions de cet enfouissement il se trouvait quelques moitiés, en petit nombre, de monnaies anglaises, qui m'ont paru appartenir à Henri III, il n'y en avait pas d'entières.»

[Absence de pièces de Jean I^{er} de Bretagne, oboles de Pierre de Montoire. Après 1239.]

20. MONTPELLIER (Hérault)

Découverte d'un trésor contenu dans une petite cruche à col étroit, à poterie vernissée, composé de plus de 600 pièces, en creusant une tranchée dans un faubourg de Montpellier. Voy. Émile Bonnet, «Note sur un trésor de monnaies anglaises découvert à Montpellier», *Revue numismatique*, 4^e série, t. xxxvii (1934), pp. 169-73 et *Monspeliensia*, t. ii (1935-40), pp. 63-7. Pour la datation et la discussion de la composition de ce trésor: R. H. M. Dolley, «The Continental Hoard — Evidence for the Chronology of the Anglo-Irish Pence of John», *The Numismatic Circular*, vol. lxxiv, n° 2 (février 1966), p. 31.

Ce trésor a été très mal inventorié par É. Bonnet. Il était composé, au dire de l'auteur, de plus de 600 esterlins à la croix courte au nom de Henri II, auxquels s'ajoutaient 9 pièces écossaises de Guillaume I^{er} le Lion, 4 pièces de Jean Sans Terre, de Dublin, et 1 esterlin de Frédéric II, empereur d'Allemagne, de Dortmund. «Le plus grand nombre des pièces composant le trésor ont été frappées à Londres... ou à Canterbury; mais il s'y trouve des exemplaires... d'autres ateliers... Chichester, Durham, York, Ipswich, Lincoln, Norwich, Oxford, Rochester, Bury Saint Edmunds, Winchester etc...» Un nom de monétaire est seulement livré, celui d'Abel, de Londres.

Les pennies écossais de Guillaume I^{er} avec la légende LE REI WILLAME sont de la phase b: HVE WALTO, Burns, fig. 48 (cl. I) et 60 (cl. IV); HVE WALTERO, Burns, fig. 57 c, e, d, 59, 46 d, 47; et avec WILLELMVS REX et PERIS ADAM ON ROCI, Burns, fig. 66 b et c (D⁸ ROCI) de la phase c, soit postérieurs à 1214. Les esterlins irlandais du roi Jean Sans Terre ont été frappés à Dublin par le monétaire Roberd à partir de 1204-5. Aux pièces anglaises, irlandaises et écossaises s'ajoutait un esterlin de l'empereur Frédéric II (1218-50), de Dortmund. Les pièces anglaises de la classe VII datent le trésor de 1235-45. Le trésor recelait également 150 esterlins coupés en deux et une vingtaine coupés en quatre.

21. BASSE NORMANDIE (En)

Trésor découvert en 1905 (?). Voy. J. Béranger, «Une trouvaille de monnaies anglo-normandes», *Bulletin de numismatique*, t. xii (1905), pp. 67-72, 6 figs. Pour la datation et la discussion de la composition de ce trésor, voy. R. H. M. Dolley, op. cit., p. 30.

Le trésor comprend des pièces de Guillaume le Conquérant, d'Étienne de Blois, des esterlins de Henri II au type «Tealby», des esterlins à la croix courte au nom de Henri II et des esterlins de Jean Sans Terre, de Dublin. R. H. M. Dolley date le trésor des années 1210-12, les esterlins à la croix courte ne dépassant pas sans doute la classe IV. L'inventaire est donné d'après l'article de M. Dolley.

ANGLETERRE

Guillaume I^{er} 5 pièces BMC type VIII = Oxford (1 de Wulfwi); Salisbury (1 de Godwine); Winchester (3 de Lifwold).

Étienne 1 pièce BMC type 1 d'atelier et de monétaire indéterminés.

Henri II 4 pièces du type «Tealby» d'ateliers et de monétaires indéterminés.

Esterlins à la croix courte: 42 pièces

Cantorbéry: 1 de Meinir (cl. II-IV, IVa?)

1 de Reinald (II-V, IIIa ou b?)

1 de Reinaud (IV)

2 de Roberd (II-VII mais la signature de l'atelier interdit les classes VI-VII)

Lincoln: 1 d'Edmund (I)

Londres: 1 d'Aimer (I-IV)

1 d'Alain (I-IV ou I si Alain V)

1 de Davi (I et II)

2 de Fil. Aimer (I)

1 de Fulke (III-V, mais la légende exclut la classe V)

1 de Henri (I, IV et VII mais la ponctuation exclut la cl. VII)

2 de Stivene (I-IV)

2 de Willelm (II-IV)

1 d'un monétaire indéterminé.

Northampton ou Norwich: 1 de Willelm (I, III et IV)

Wilton: 1 d'Osber (I)

1 de Rodbert (I)

Winchester: 1 d'Osbern (I, III et IV)

1 de Willelm (II-IV)

Worcester: 1 de Godwine (I)

York: 1 d'Everard (I-IV)

3 de Gerard (I)

1 de Hue (II-IV)

1 de Turkil (I-IV)

2 de Willelm (I et VI mais la forme de la légende du revers exclut la classe VI)

Ateliers incertains: 1 de Raul (Londres sans doute, donc cl. I)

1 de Willelm

IRLANDE

Jean Sans Terre, roi, Atelier de Dublin: 1 pièce de Roberd

1 de Willem

22. LE POIRÉ-SUR-VELLUIRE (Vendée, ar. et c. Fontenay-le-Comte)

Trésor d'environ 5,000 pièces découvert dans le milieu de l'année 1895; 1,652 pièces étudiées. Voy. H. Gillard, «Le trésor du Poiré-de-Velluire (Vendée)», *Bulletin de numismatique*, iv (1897), pp. 21-3. Trésor mentionné par R. H. M. Dolley, op. cit., p. 30. Voy. aussi J. Duplessy, «La circulation des monnaies arabes en Europe occidentale du VIII^e au XIII^e siècle», *RN* 5, t. xviii (1956), p. 132, n° 30.

Royales françaises

Philippe II Type paris 1 de Paris (Laf. 181), 1 d'Arras (Laf. 183 ou 184)

Type tournois 128 TVRONVS CIVI (Laf. 193), 177 SCS MARTINVS (Laf. 194), 2 de Rennes (Laf. 180)

Type breton 1 DVX BRITANIE (Laf. 176 ou 177)

Louis VIII-Louis IX 324 d. t. TVRONVS CIVI (Laf. 195)

Féodales

Bretagne:	193 et 114 anonymes de Nantes et de Rennes, Guingamp: 5 STEPHAN COM 1 d'Alain de Goelle 11 de Pierre Mauclerc (5 GVINGAMP, 6 GVINGAMPIS Rev. DVX BRITANIE)
Anjou	1 d. de Foulque
Maine	285 d.
Tours	347 d. et 1 ob.
Chartres	1 ob. anonyme
Vendôme	2 ob. de Jean III (1207-18)
Châteaudun	2 ob. de Geoffroi IV (1215-35)
Perche	2 d. anonymes
Gien	3 d.
Vierzon	1 d. anonyme
Château-Meillant	1 d. d'Ebbes de Déols
Nevers	1 d. de Hervé de Donzy
Souigny	3 d.
Poitou	1 d. de Melle 3 d. de Richard Cœur de Lion 1 d. de Savary de Mauléon
Marche	16 d. de Hugues X
Angoulême	15 d.
Aquitaine	25 d. et 19 ob. de Richard Cœur de Lion
Champagne	2 d. de Thibaut IV (1201-53), de Provins
Reims	1 d. de Guillaume I (1175-1202) ou II

Angleterre 53 pennies de divers ateliers frappés sous Henri II... et Henri III

Irlande Penny frappé à Dublin sous Jean Sans Terre

Musulmanes 4 dinars almohades

[Deniers tournois de Louis VIII-Louis IX. Oboles de Geoffroi V de Châteaudun (1215-35), deniers de Hugues X de la Marche (1208-49). Anonymes de Bretagne de Pierre Mauclerc, absence de deniers à l'écu de Jean I^{er} de Bretagne. A partir de 1235-40?]

23. PONTMAIN (Mayenne, ar. Mayenne, c. Landivy)

Découverte d'un trésor de 1,500 pièces réparties dans deux vases de terre. Voy. *Bulletin de la commission historique et archéologique de la Mayenne*, t. i (1878-9), p. 30.

Royales françaises	Philippe II Louis VIII-Louis IX [Louis VIII et Louis IX?]
Féodales françaises	Tours Bretagne: anonymes de Nantes, de Rennes et de Guingamp Maine: quelques pièces
Angleterre	2 pièces de «Henri III d'Angleterre»

[Absence de deniers à l'écu de Jean I^{er} de Bretagne. Avant 1240.]

24. PUY-DU-CHALARD (Corrèze, lieu-dit)

Voy. Léon Lacroix, «Monnaies trouvées au Puy-d'Yssandon et au Puy-du-Chalard (Corrèze)», *Bulletin de la société scientifique, historique et archéologique de la Corrèze*, t. ix (1887), p. 465.

1 «denier de Henri III (1216-72)»

25. RÉDENÉ (Finistère, ar. Quimperlé, c. Arzano, village de Liminec, com. de). Découverte d'un trésor de monnaies d'or et d'argent «renfermé dans un pot en terre grossière» en février 1876. Voy. Audran, «Découverte de monnaies baronales et autres, près Quimperlé (Finistère)», *Bulletin de la société archéologique du Finistère*, t. iv (1876-7), pp. 50-5. — J. Duplessy, «La circulation des monnaies arabes en Europe occidentale du VIII^e au XIII^e siècle», *RN*⁵, t. xviii (1956), p. 132, n° 31.

Sur cinquante monnaies d'or il a pu être identifié un *aureus* d'Auguste et, selon une note de Longpérier, un dinar de l'émir almohade d'Afrique et d'Espagne, Abou Yousep Yacoub (1152-98), d'atelier indéterminé.

Bretagne Guingamp (les monnaies les plus nombreuses)

1 de Conan IV

1 de Geoffroi, comte de Nantes

1 de Geoffroi II, duc

Anjou: au nom de Foulques et VRBS ANDEGAVIS et au nom de Geoffroi

Tours (S^t-Martin)

Maine

Bourbon: 1 pièce LVDOVICVS REX Monogramme Rev. BORBONENSIS Croix [pièce à l'imitation de Nevers sans doute] et 1 pièce de Gui de Dampierre (1202-13)

Souvigny (sans indication)

Déols (au nom de Raoul)

Gien

Nevers (Hervé de Donzy)

Champagne (Henri le Large (1152-78), sans autre indication)

Vendôme (anonyme au type chartrain)

Les pièces anglaises sont données à Henri II. L'une est décrite: elle est du monétaire Aimer, de Londres. Le trésor contenait aussi des pièces écossaises de Guillaume I^{er}, l'une porte au revers W...ON...R

[Absence de monnaies royales françaises. Parmi les féodales les pièces les plus récentes sont celles de Nevers (Hervé de Donzy, 1199-1223) et de Bourbon (Gui de Dampierre, sire de Bourbon et de Montluçon, 1202-13); il n'y a pas de monnaies signées de Vendôme (1207), pas de pièce de Guingamp, ni de Nantes, ni de Rennes de Pierre Mauclerc. L'esterlin d'Aimer ne dépasse pas la classe IV. Le seul penny écossais de Guillaume I^{er} décrit doit être lu: W(ALTER) ON (PE)R. Il appartient à la phase a du monnayage. Après 1202 et avant 1205?]

26. ROYAN (Charente-Maritime, ar. Rochefort)

Découverte, en 1937, par un terrassier, près de l'église de S^t-Pierre de Royan, dans des excavations de 1,50 m de profondeur, d'un trésor d'environ 500 deniers et oboles enfermés dans un sac de cuir.

Les deux publications suivantes doivent être consultées pour obtenir la composition approximative du trésor: P. Burgaud, «Une trouvaille de monnaies du XII^e siècle à Saint-Pierre-de-Royan», *Revue de Saintonge et d'Aunis*, t. xlv (1936), pp. 190-2 et P. Le Gentilhomme, «Trouvaille de monnaies féodales à Royan», *Revue numismatique*, 1942, pp. xviii-xix.

Royaumes françaises:	Philippe II:	47 d. t. au nom de St-Martin (Laf. 193)
		3 de Tours (Laf. 194)
Féodales françaises:	Louis VIII-Louis IX:	35 d.t. (Laf. 195 ou 196)
	Aquitaine:	167 d. et 9 ob. de Richard Cœur de Lion
	Poitou:	2 d. et 1 ob. du même
	Touraine:	89
	Maine:	52
	Angoulême:	27 aux trois annelets et au croissant
	Bretagne:	4 d. anonymes de Nantes et Rennes
	Marche:	1
	Cluny:	1
	Béarn:	1 obole au nom de Centulle

Esterlins anglais ¹	Cantorbéry: SAMVEL-ON-CA (IV-VII)
	Carlisle: ALAIN-ON-CARD (I-IV)
	Lincoln: ANDREV (Vabc)
	Londres: ABEL-ON-LVNDE (Vc-VII)
	DAVI-ON-LVNDE (Ibc-IIa)
	ELIS-ON-LVNDE (VII)
	PIERES-M-ON-LVN (Iab)
	RICHARD (Ic-Vb, VII)
York:	H[VNF] REI-ON-EVER (Ib)

[Les pièces françaises les plus récentes sont les 35 deniers tournois de Louis VIII-Louis IX (à partir de 1223), les quatre deniers anonymes de Nantes et de Rennes (à partir de 1213 et jusque vers 1240). Il n'y a aucun denier de Jean I^{er} de Bretagne (à partir de 1240 ou après). Les pièces anglaises les plus récentes sont les esterlins d'Elis, de Londres, de Samuel, de Cantorbéry, du début de la classe VII, et de Richard, de Londres, de la fin de la classe VII.

En raison du petit nombre de pièces de Louis VIII-Louis IX et de Nantes et Rennes, en l'absence de pièces de Jean I^{er} de Bretagne, l'on aurait tendance à dater ce trésor des années antérieures à 1240 et à le mettre en rapport avec les événements militaires de 1230, mais l'esterlin de Richard, de Londres, le fait descendre jusqu'aux alentours de 1242 (fin de la classe VII-début de la classe VIII) et le trésor est sans doute à mettre en liaison, comme le pensait Le Gentilhomme, avec les campagnes militaires de saint Louis en Poitou et les batailles de Taillebourg et de Saintes de 1242.]

27. SAINT-FRAIMBAULT-SUR-PISSE (Orne, ar. Alençon, c. Passais, près de la Varenne, com. de)

Dans un petit vase en grès un trésor de 378 pièces enfoui sous une haie. A. Decerf, «La trouvaille monétaire de Torchamps», *Le Pays Bas-Normand*, 45^e année — 2, n° 96 (1952), pp. 133-9 et, du même auteur, «Un trésor du XII^e siècle découvert à Saint-Fraimbault», dans *Société historique et archéologique de l'Orne. Bulletin principal*, t. lxx (1952), pp. 16-22.

Guingamp	131
Châteaudun	103 DVNIOSTRA
Anjou	61 FVLCO COMES — VRBS ANDEGAVIS
Le Mans	35
Vendôme	33 VDONCAOSTO
Tours	5
Gien	1
Bretagne	1 Conan IV
	1 Geoffroi II

Esterlins anglais: 2 et un demi, «une surprise: une des pièces anglaises... est attribuée par le catalogue du British Museum avec quelque hésitation au roi Henri III (1216-1272)» (*sic*)

[Absence de monnaies royales françaises. La pièce datée la plus récente est celle de Geoffroi II (1186); les pièces de Vendôme et de Châteaudun sont d'avant 1207 et 1215. Il est probable que le trésor date d'avant 1205.]

28. SAINT-MICHEL-EN-L'HERM (Vendée, ar. Fontenay-le-Comte, c. Luçon)

Trésor découvert en 1952, composé de 1717 pièces, 12 moitiés d'esterlin et quelques débris de monnaies non identifiées. Voy. J. Lafaurie, *Bulletin de la société française de numismatique*, 13^e année n° 5, mai 1958, pp. 211-12.

Royales françaises:	Philippe Auguste: 2 d.t. (Laf. 193 ou 194)
Féodales françaises:	Guingamp 981
	Angers, au nom de Foulques 534
	Gien 25
	Geoffroi, comte de Nantes, 10
	Tours 2

¹ Entre parenthèses les classes extrêmes.

Esterlins anglais, au nom de Henri II: 149 et 12 deniers (*sic*) d'ateliers divers (dont 1 pièce de Rhuddlan, de Halli; voy. Dolley, *BNJ*, xxviii, 21, *SNC* 1963, 226). Les esterlins les plus récents seraient de la classe IV; id. *SNC*, *ibid.*, n. 1

Esterlins écossais: 2 de Guillaume I^{er}

1 bronze *Consecratio* de Claude le Gothique

8 monnaies illisibles

[Ce sont les esterlins les plus récents de la classe IV et les deux pièces de Philippe II qui datent le trésor, qui devrait avoir été enfoui peu après 1205.]

29. SISTERON (Basses-Alpes, ar. Forcalquier, lieu-dit La Sylvie, c. de)

Découverte de 9 esterlins à la croix courte au nom de Henri II, de Londres (Henric) et de Durham (Alain). Voy. J. Roman, «Découvertes numismatiques et archéologiques en 1866», *Annuaire de la société française de numismatique*, t. ii (1876), p. 332.

[Classes des monétaires: Henri, de Londres (lab, IV, V) ou Henri Pi (lab). Alain, de Durham (III-IV).]

30. VALLON-SUR-GÉE (Sarthe, ar. Le Mans, c. Loué)

Trésor de 5,800 pièces découvert dans les derniers mois de l'année 1875 près de la motte féodale non loin de l'église. Voy. Ferdinand Hucher, «Trésor de Vallon (Sarthe) trouvé près la motte féodale et non loin de l'église de cette commune», *Bulletin de la société d'agriculture, sciences et arts de la Sarthe*, 2^e série, t. xvi (1877), pp. 201-11.

Monnaie royale: Philippe I^{er} ou II? atelier de Montreuil (Laf. 67 ou 171)

Monnaies féodales: Anjou: 1,480 d. au nom de Foulques. Variétés: +ANDEGAVENTIS («les plus anciens» dit Hucher), VRBS AIDCCSV, «sur un grand nombre» VRBS ANDEGAVIS, «les plus récents» VRBS ANDEGAVS

1 ob. ANDEGAVS ou ANDNGAVS au type tournois

Penthièvre: Guingamp 1358 d., 3 ob.

Bretagne: Conan [lequel?] 1 d.
Geoffroi II 48 d.

Châteaudun: 823 d., 6 ob. (423 d., 5 ob. DVNIC:SASTF
400 d., 1 ob. DVNIOSTILI)

Le Mans: 659 d. au monogramme d'Erbert avec var. dans la
légende COMES CENOMANNIS

Vendôme: 350 d., 45 ob. VDONCAOSTO

Tours: 103 d.

Gien: 55 d., 41 ob.

Déols: 7 d. de Raoul, 1 d. de Philippe II (Laf. 169)

Sancerre: 1 d., 1 ob.

Issoudun: 3 d. de Richard Cœur de Lion

Poitou: 1 ob. du même

Aquitaine: 1 ob. du même

Melle: 1 d., 2 ob.

Chartres: 2 ob.

Limoges (St-Martial): 1 d., 1 ob.

Angoulême: 1 d.

Besançon: 1 d.

Dijon: 1 d.

Cluny: «un grand denier»

Nevers: 1 d.

Rouen: 1 d.

Souigny: 1 d.

Troyes: 2 d.

A partir des pièces de Chartres aucune description n'est donnée.

Esterlins anglais et écossais 442 esterlins: 328 esterlins anglais, 6 écossais et «108 résidus»
 390 moitiés d'esterlin: 90 anglais, 5 écossais et 295
 «résidus»

En voici la liste par ateliers — entre parenthèses sont indiquées les classes de chaque monétaire.

1. Esterlins anglais

Cantorbéry: Goldwine: 8 et 3 moitiés (II-V); Meinir: 11 et 3 (II-IV); Reinald: 6 et 3 (III-IV);
 Reinaud: 4 (IV); Robert: 9 et 2 (II-VII); Vlard: 10 et 3 (III-IV).

Carlisle: Alain: 2 et 2 (I-IV)

Exeter: Iordan: 2 et 2 (I); Osber: 1 (I); Ricard: 2 (I, III, V)

Lincoln: Edmund: 5 et 2 (I); Lefwine: 2 et 1 (I-III); Girard: 1 moitié (I); Walter: 1 et 1 (I)

Londres: Aimer: 11 et 3 (I-IV); Alain: 3 et 1 (I, IV); Alain V.: 1 moitié (I); Davi: 7 et 2 (I-II);

Filip Aimer: 3 et 2 (I); Fulke: 3 et 1 (III-V); Iefrei: 2 (I); Gilebert: 2 (I); Goldwine: 1 (IV);

Henric: 8 et 4 (I, IV, V); Iohan: 2 et 1 (I, V); Osber: 2 (I); Pieres: 11 et 3 (I-II); Randul: 1 et 1

(I); Raul: 30 et 2 (I, II); Ricard: 44 et 5 (I-V, VII); Stivene: 29 et 3 (I-IV); Willelm: 24 (I-V).

Northampton: Filip: 1 et 1 (I); Raul: 5 et 1 (I); Walter: 4 et 2 (I, III); Willelm: 1 (I)

Norwich: Reinald: 3 et 1 (Ibc, IV, V)

Oxford: Owein: 3 et 2 (I); Ricard: 4 et 3 (I, II)

Shrewsbury: Reinald: 1 (IV)

Wilton: Osber: 1 (I); Rodbert: 1 (I)

Winchester: Adam: 4 et 2 (I, V); Clement: 1 moitié (I); Gocelm: 12 (I-III); Osber: 3 et 2 (I, II,
 III, IV); Pires: 1 et 1 (III); Rodbert: 6 et 2 (I); Willelm: 11 et 3 (II-IV).

Worcester: Godwine: 1 et 2 (I); Osber: 2 (I, III).

York: Alain: 1 et 2 (I); Everard: 8 et 5 (I-IV); Hugo: 2 et 2 (I-IV); Hunfrei: 1 et 1 (I); Turkil:
 5 et 2 (I-IV); Willelm: 1 et 1 (I, VI).

Rhuddlan: Thomas: 2 moitiés (classe C)

2. Esterlins écossais

Raul on... V: Phase *a*; Atelier de Roxburgh. Voy. Burns, fig. 42, 42A, 45, 45A RAVL:OH [ROGEB] V
 (2 esterlins, 1 moitié)

Wil...on...et: Phase *a* Atelier de Perth? ?Walter. La lecture Wil ne se comprend pas, mais un
 coin de l'atelier de Perth au nom de Walter donne la lecture *Pet* pour Perth. Voy. Burns, fig.
 40B (1 esterlin, 1 moitié)

Hue, Walter on Phase *b* (?) classe I. Voy. Burns, fig. 46 (1 esterlin, 1 moitié)

Raul on Roco: Phase *a* Atelier de Roxburgh. Voy. Burns, fig. 45B, C, D, 41, 42C (1 esterlin, 1
 moitié)

...go on...: Phase *a* Atelier de Perth? ?[+hv] GO:OH[:PÆT] (1 esterlin, 1 moitié); Voy. coll.
 Lockett 694a. Une des très rares pièces de Hugo, de Perth.

La monnaie française la plus récente est le denier de Philippe II à Déols (1200-3) avec les pièces de Richard Cœur de Lion d'Issoudun (1196-9). Les pièces de Vendôme et de Châteaudun sont à dater d'avant 1207 et 1215. Il n'y a pas de monnaies anonymes de Bretagne et de Ponthieu du temps de Pierre Mauclerc (1213-37) ni de monnaie de Philippe II de Bretagne (1206-13). L'obole angevine au type tournois aurait-elle été frappée par Philippe II après 1205, comme le voudrait Dieudonné? Il est impossible de déterminer quels sont les esterlins anglais les plus récents. Certains, d'après le nom du monnayeur, peuvent aussi bien appartenir à la classe I qu'à la classe VII, mais il n'y en a aucun qui soit sûrement d'une classe postérieure à la classe V. Il y a une majorité de pièces de la classe I. On est tenté de penser que les esterlins les plus récents ne dépassent pas la classe IV. Mais si le trésor devait être daté des alentours de 1205 il ferait remonter un peu haut dans le temps la phase *b* du monnayage écossais avec la pièce de Hue, Walter on.

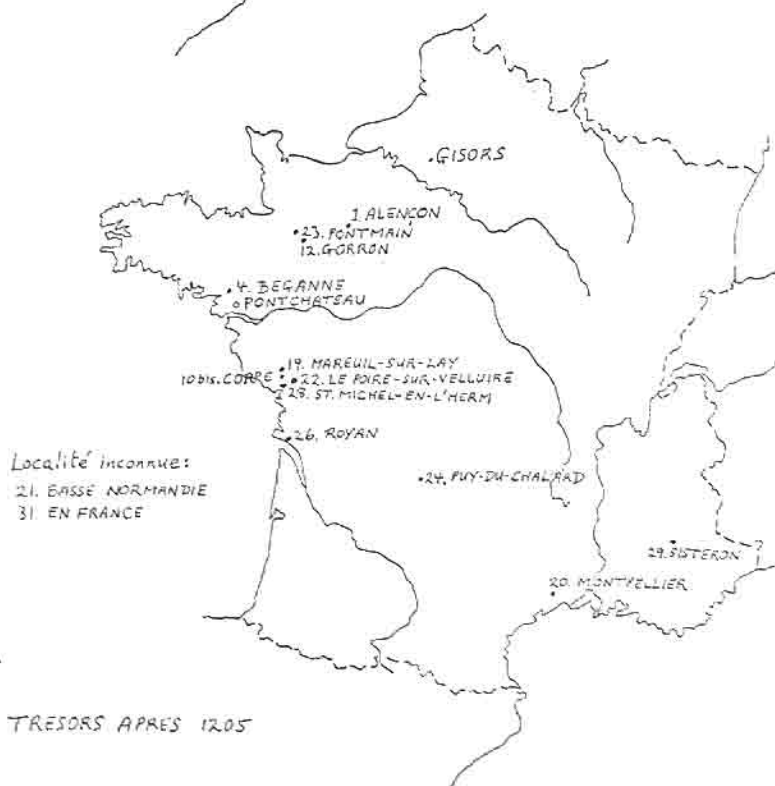
31. EN FRANCE

Trésor de 574 pièces, provenant de France, sans localisation précise, publié par L. A. Lawrence, «On a Hoard of Short Cross Pennies», *NC*³, xvii (1897), pp. 235-44.



Carte 1.

TRESORS AVANT 1205



Carte 2.

TRESORS APRES 1205



Carte 3

A part trois pièces tout le trésor est composé d'esterlins anglais. Lawrence a inventorié les pièces selon le classement d'Evans alors seul existant. Ou trouvera ci-dessous la liste par ateliers et monétaires avec l'indication entre parenthèses des classes de Lawrence.

Cantorbéry: Arnaut: 1 (V); Goldwine: 2 (V); Henri: 8 (VI), 16 (VII); Iohan: 7 (V-VI), 17 (VII); Hiun: 1 (VI); Iun: 1 (VII); Iohan B: 1 (V); Iohan M: 4 (V); Iohan Chic: 18 (VII); Iohan Fr: 4 (VII); Osmunde: 16 (VII); Roberd: 3 (II-IV); Robert Vi: 2 (VII); Roger: 11 (VI); 20 (VII); Roger of R: 8 (VII); Salemun: 1 (VII); Samuel: 7 (V-VI); Simon: 2 (V-VI); Simun: 1 (IV), 4 (V-VI), 6 (VII); Tomas: 1 (VI), 24 (VII); Vlard: 1 (II-IV); Walter: 4 (V-VI); Willelm: 17 (VII); Willem TA: 7 (VII); Illisibles: 10

Bury Saint Edmunds: Norman: 6 (VII); Rauf: 2 (VI); Simund: 19 (VII); Willelm: 1 (VII)

Chichester: Pieres: 1 (V); Willelm: 1 (V)

Exeter: Ricard: 2 (V)

Lincoln: Andreu: 1 (V); Hue: 1 (V); Lefwine: 1 (I, II-III)

Londres: Abel: 12 (V-VI), 5 (VII); Adam: 36 (VII); Aimer: 1 (II-IV); Elis: 4 (VII); Fulke: 3 (III-IV); Giffrei: 15 (VII); Henric: 3 (IV); Ilger: 30 (V-VI), 14 (VII); Ledulf: 34 (VII); Pieres: 2 (II); Rauf: 22 (V-VI); Raulf: 6 (VII); Raul: 1 (I); Rener: 2 (V-VI); Ricard: 4 (IV), 27 (VII); Ricard B: 2 (V); Stivene: ? (II-IV); Terri: 5 (VII); Walter: 31 (V-VI); Willelm: 4 (II-IV), 1 (V); Willelm B: 3 (V); Willelm T: 1 (V).

Illisibles: 8

Northampton: Adam: 1 (V); Hugo: 1 (I)

Norwich: Reinald: 2 (IV)

Oxford: Ailaine: 1 (V)

Rhuddlan: Tomas 1 (II); Henri: 1 (V)

Shrewsbury: Reinald: 1 (IV)

Winchester: Adam: 2 (V); Andreu: 1 (V); Bartelme: 1 (V); Gocelm: 1 (II-III); Iohan: 1 (V-VI); Lukas: 2 (V); Rauf: 1 (V); Ricard: 1 (V)

York: Davi: 1 (IV), 1 (V); Everard: 3 (II-IV); Iohan: 1 (V-VI); Nicole: 1 (V); Peres: 1 (VI)

Ateliers illisibles: 8

Écosse: 1 esterlin de Raul, d'atelier indéterminé, l'autre de Raul, de Roxburgh. Les deux pièces sont de Raul, de Roxburgh et de la phase *a*.

Allemagne: 1 esterlin d'Othon IV (1208-1212)

[Les esterlins les plus récents appartiennent à la classe VII. Le trésor est à dater des années 1240, selon Lawrence lui-même.]

N.B. L'expression «monnaies irlandaises» a été employée tout au long de cet article. Il semble, aux dires des savants irlandais, qu'elle ne soit pas parfaitement correcte et il convient plutôt d'utiliser le terme «anglo-irlandaises» plus précis. Le lecteur corrigera de lui-même.

APPENDICE

Ce trésor est le seul trésor français, à notre connaissance, qui contienne des esterlins à la croix longue. C'est pourquoi il a semblé utile de le mentionner (voy. la note 28).

PONTCHÂTEAU (Loire-Atlantique, ar. Saint-Nazaire).

Trésor découvert en 1850 au cours de travaux: un «petit sac en toile grossière» contenant des bijoux et des monnaies, d'après F. Parenteau, *Inventaire archéologique...*, Nantes, 1878, p. 60. L'auteur ajoute: «Les monnaies se divisent en royales et en baronales, depuis Louis VII, jusques et y compris quelques deniers tournois de saint Louis, des sterlings d'argent de Henri III d'Angleterre; en monnaies de Bretagne, des deniers de Guingamp, à la légende CASTRI.GIGAMPI, des deniers inédits de Jean I^{er} portant l'écusson de Dreux au franc quartier de Bretagne, posé en pal, qui furent publiés plus tard dans le *Catalogue* de notre ami M. F. Poëy d'Avant.» Les bagues d'argent sont illustrées à la planche 30.

[Les monnaies de Jean I^{er} (1237-86) sont des deniers à l'écu frappés à partir de 1240. Il est difficile d'établir si les deniers de s. Louis sont d'avant ou d'après 1266, mais les deniers à la légende CASTRI GIGAMPI sont à dater de la fin du XIII^e s. Dans ce cas il est vraisemblable que les esterlins de Henri III sont des esterlins à la croix longue.]

<i>Trésors Dates</i>	<i>Lisieux 1197-9</i>	<i>Aviron Avant 1205</i>	<i>Bais Avant 1205</i>	<i>Bonneval Avant 1205</i>	<i>Bourg-Dun Avant 1205</i>	<i>Caen Avant 1205</i>	<i>Caran Avant 1205</i>	<i>Caro Avant 1205</i>	<i>Corné ?</i>	<i>Cré Avant 1205</i>	<i>Larré Avant 1205</i>	<i>Le Mans I 1200-4</i>	<i>Le Mans II 1200-4</i>	<i>Le Mans III 1200-4</i>	<i>Rédené Avant 1205</i>	<i>St. Frainbault Avant 1205</i>
Esterlins	19 — 100%	100 — 25%	8 — 1,34%	1	2 — 3,22%	× — ?	4?	2 — 0,12%	× — 100% ?	4 — 1,30%	× — ?	15 — 100%	47 — 100%	14 — 1,77%	× — ?	3 — 4,80%
Royales																
Louis VI-VII																
Philippe II																
Louis VIII-IX																
Bretagne																
Conan III								1 — 0,06%						1 — 0,12%		
Conan IV															× — ?	1 — 0,27%
Geofr. de Nantes			3 — 0,50%												× — ?	
Geoffroi II			1 — 0,16%					10 — 0,60%							× — ?	1 — 0,27%
Guingamp		200 — 50%	289 — 48,73%		18 — 29,03%			1368 — 84,51%		159 — 51,78%	× — ?				les plus nombreuses	131 — 35,02%
Pierre Mauclerc																
Anonymes																
Anjou		33 — 8%	148 — 24,80%		26 — 45,16%	× — ?		150 — 9,14%		73 — 23,78%	× — ?			288 — 37%	× — ?	61 — 16,31%
Maine		33 — 8%	88 — 14,70%		6 — 9,67%	× — ?	5 — ?	50 — 3,04%		59 — 12,70%	la plupart			422 — 54%		35 — 9,35%
Tours		33 — 8%	51 — 8,54%		8 — 12,58%	× — ?				32 — 10,42%	^			58 — 7,41%	× — ?	5 — 1,35%
Orléanais																
Châteaudun			4 — 0,67%					6 — 0,36%								103 — 27,54%
Vendôme			4 — 0,67%													
Chartres																33 — 8,82%
Gien			5 — 0,83%					35 — 2,13%							× — ?	1 — 0,27%
Perche																
Berry																
Celles																
Château-Meillant																
Déols															× — ?	
Châteauroux																
Issoudun																
Sancerre																
Vierzon																
Nevers															× — ?	
Bourbon															× — ?	
Souigny																
Poitou																
Melle																
Richard Cœur de Lion																
Aquitaine Richard																
Angoulême																
Marche																
Limousin																
Béarn																
Bourgogne																
Besançon																
Soissons															× — ?	
Champagne																
Dinars Arabes															50 — 10,89%	
Non-décrites																
Incerta																
Total	19	400	593	1	60	Plusieurs milliers	200 à 300	1640	×	307 sur 350	250	15	47	783	460	371 sur 378

<i>Vallon Avant 1205</i>	<i>St. Michel-en- l'Herm Après 1205</i>	<i>Sisteron Après 1205</i>	<i>Gorron Après 1204</i>	<i>Bégarne 1205-13</i>	<i>Basse- Normandie 1210-12</i>	<i>Alençon Après 1213</i>	<i>Hotor Après 1217?</i>	<i>Royan 1230-40</i>	<i>Poiré Vers 1235</i>	<i>Montpellier 1235-45</i>	<i>Pontmain Avant 1240</i>	<i>En France Vers 1240</i>	<i>Mareuil Après 1240</i>	<i>Puy du Chalard ?</i>
822 — 14,26%	163 — 9,45%	9 — 100%	× ? — 100%	2 — 0,52%	54 — 100%	25 — 8,71%	98 — 2,50%	9 — 2%	54 — 3,08%	600 — 100%	2 — ?	574 — 100%	55 ? moitiés	1
1 — 0,01%	2 — 0,11%			12 — 3,15%		1 — 0,35%		150 } 19%	311 } 37,28%		× — ? × — ?		357 } 25%	
1 ? — 0,01% 1 ? — 0,01%	1 — 0,05% 10 — 0,57%						1 — 0,025%							
48 — 0,82% 1361 — 23,32%	981 — 57,06%			191 — 50,26%		37 — 12,39%	1950 — 49,44%		6 — 0,38%				12 — 0,07%	
						1 — 0,35%		4 — 0,89%	318 — 18,10%		× — ?		8037 — 51,85%	
1480 — 25,38% 659 — 11,29% 103 — 1,76%	534 — 30,97% 2 — 0,11%			25 — 6,57% 75 — 19,73%		94 — 32,75% 31 — 10,80% 9 — 3,13%	600 — 15,21% 260 — 6,60% 20 — 0,50%	52 — 11,60% 89 — 19,86%	1 — 0,05% 285 — 16,29% 348 — 19,89%		× — ? × — ?		1200 — 7,73% 2300 — 14,83%	
829 — 14,20% 350 — 6,76% 2 — 0,03% 92 — 1,64%	25 — 1,45%			75 — 19,73%		43 — 14,98% 13 — 4,18% 1 — 0,35% 2 — 0,69%	650 — 16,48% 150 — 3,80% 8 — 0,20%		2 — 0,11% 2 — 0,11% 1 — 0,05% 3 — 0,17% 2 — 0,11%				4 — 0,025% 6 ? — 0,038%	
													3 — 0,019%	
8 — 0,13% dont 1 Ph. II 3 — 0,05% 2 — 0,03%						1 — 0,35%	1 — 0,025%		1 — 0,05%				1 — 0,0064%	
1 — 0,01%							2 — 0,05% 1 — 0,025% 1 — 0,025%		1 — 0,05% 1 — 0,05%				4 — 0,025%	
1 — 0,01%														
3 — 0,05% 1 — 0,01%								3 — 0,66%	1 — 0,05% 4 — 0,22%					
1 — 0,01% 1 — 0,01%								176 — 31,28% 27 — 6,02% 1 — 0,22%	15 — 0,85% 16 — 0,91%					
2 — 0,03%								1 — 0,22%	3 — 0,17%					
2 — 0,03% 1 — 0,01%							2 — 0,05%							
2 — 0,03%									BAR: 3 — 0,17% 4 — 0,22%				10 — 0,004% BAR: 1 — 0,006%	
	1 Rom. 0,05% 9 — 0,52%					30	200 — 5%							
5783	1719	9		310 sur 1200 à 1500	54	287 = $\frac{1}{3}$ du trésor	3944 sur 4000	448 sur 500	1706 sur 5000	600	1500	574	15.500	

ENGLISH SHORT CROSS COINS IN FRENCH HOARDS

For the benefit of members who have no French, a brief summary of the paper is given in English.

A parcel of forty-seven Short Cross pennies submitted to the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris by a French collector, and presumed to have been found in or near Le Mans, prompted a search for records of other hoards found in France containing these coins. References have been found to no less than another thirty-one.¹ Several of the published reports are too vague or give too little detail to be precise as to their content, but for the majority a reasonably close date of deposit can be arrived at.

The majority of these hoards come from the north-west of France: from Normandy, Maine, Anjou, and Brittany, all territories held as part of the domains of the English kings Henry II and Richard I, but lost by John. The greater number of this group can be shown to be dated before 1205, by which year the lands had been completely taken over by the French king Philip II. A much smaller group has been found south of the river Loire (which forms a natural boundary between the north and the south of France), in Poitou; all of these are later than 1205. There are also three outliers in the central and south-eastern part of France.

Unlike England, where one coinage only circulated, there were very many coin issuers in France. The deniers of the King of France formed only a small part of the coinage in circulation. Outside the Paris area the issues of feudal lords formed the bulk of the money. In north-western France deniers of Anjou were the principal currency. These were of an immobilized type in the names of the earlier counts Fulke and Geoffrey. Undoubtedly coins of this type continued to be struck by Henry II, and probably his sons Richard and John. Although nominally of Anjou, they were the official coinage of Normandy and probably struck there also: it must not be forgotten that Henry was of the house of Anjou. These Angevin deniers were approximately equal in value to the majority of other French coins, and were tariffed at four to the English penny. The coins of Le Mans, also of an immobilized type in the name of Count Herbert, were unusual in being worth two deniers, or one English halfpenny. The hoards tell us, however, that the deniers of Brittany also circulated widely throughout north-west France, even forming the major part of hoards so far distant as Hotot and Aviron. The coinage of Tours formed a not inconsiderable part of the money-stock, as did also those of Châteaudun, and the smaller mints of Vendôme and Gien, these last three in Orleanais which was outside the control of the English kings. Other coinages are also found in small numbers, but the principal ones were undoubtedly those of Brittany, Anjou, and Maine, with Touraine and England usually present. It is highly significant that all of the hoards found in Normandy, Maine and Anjou that date from the reign of Philip II include some English sterlings, and of those from Brittany in the same reign only two do not include sterlings.

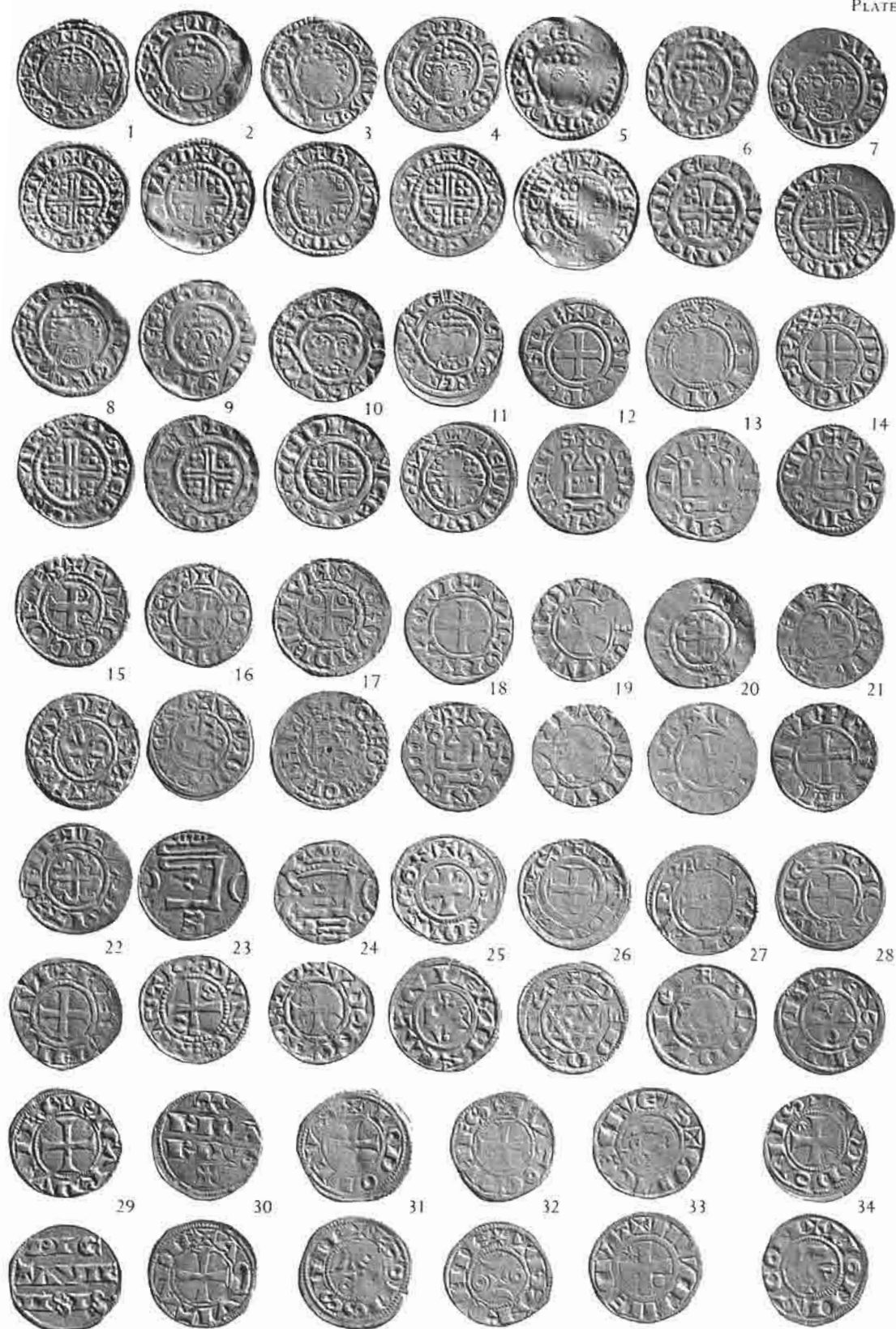
An ordinance of Philip II, dated 1204, soon after he had finally expelled John and the English, lays down exchange equivalents for the coins current in north-west France in terms of the deniers tournois, which he had apparently determined were to be the future standard coinage for this region. Included amongst the issues mentioned were English pennies valued at four deniers. The Norman Pipe Rolls that still survive of the English period of rule are drawn up in terms of Angevin money, but scattered through those accounts are occasional references to amounts in sterling, which are counted as being four times their value in Angevin money to make the summations agree. The documentary evidence is thus in accord with the hoards of coins: English sterlings were an acceptable currency, amongst many others, in north-western France while it was under English rule, and indeed, but to a lesser extent, after it had come under the French kings. There are several reasons why this should be. Enormous sums of money were sent from England to France to finance the wars and intrigues of the English kings. A large proportion of the English nobility and religious houses also held lands in Normandy, etc., and there was constant traffic by them across the Channel. And thirdly there was considerable trade both ways between England and the Continent.

To a Frenchman there would be some advantages in having part of his capital in English coins. They were taking on the character of an international currency as they were widely accepted as being of good silver. Moreover they were of high value, each being worth four of the local deniers, and in this connection it is notable not only that several of these French hoards have a high proportion

¹ In contrast, only one hoard has been traced which included English Long Cross pennies (see the Appendix), but there may perhaps have been a few isolated specimens elsewhere.

of the sterlings cut into halves and quarters, which would make them equivalent with the Le Mans and the Angevin deniers respectively, but that two of them, at least, also included gold coins of even higher value and universal acceptability.

It is evident that English coins did not play any considerable part in the currency of Poitou and Aquitaine, the other major provinces under Plantagenet rule. South of the Loire they seem to have been virtually excluded by the coinages in the name of Richard, these being accompanied by the local feudal issues of Angoulême and La Marche.



MINT OUTPUT OF HENRY III

C. E. BLUNT and J. D. BRAND

L. A. LAWRENCE, in the first part of his classic study of the Long Cross coinage, wrote: 'The historical portion of the story of the Long Cross coinage will be left in the able hands of Mr. Earle Fox. It comprises the records of the chroniclers and also many allusions in the various series of the rolls.'¹ In the third part of the same work Lawrence refers to Fox's intended appendix and says that his health has precluded him from doing this, but expresses the hope that he will soon be able to resume his labours.² Regrettably Fox's health, which had broken down in 1914, never recovered and he died in 1920³ with the work uncompleted. He left behind, however, notebooks with the material which he was clearly collecting to this end and these passed to his brother J. Shirley-Fox who, on his death in 1939,⁴ left them to Blunt. These contain, among other information, calculations of the mint output at London and Canterbury for most of the reign of Henry III. It was not until Blunt received, in an editorial capacity, an article deploring the fact that mint accounts had not survived for the Long Cross coinage, that he appreciated how obscure, and indeed incomplete, had been the publication of the figures Fox had extracted.⁵ He therefore sought to prepare the figures for publication and, in so doing, learnt that Brand was independently making a study of the documentary material (including the same Pipe Roll accounts from a new transcript), and was able to add information which Fox had not found, in particular for the early years of the reign. It was decided, therefore, to pool resources and give a joint paper. Where the Fox figures disagreed with the new transcript Brand was using, he checked the entries in the appropriate Chancellor's Rolls. Some of the Fox calculations and interpretations had been found by each of us independently to need correction and our revisions have been adopted in the figures now submitted. That this was necessary is no criticism of the work of Fox, for what he left were notes which he would undoubtedly have checked himself before publication. We are much indebted to staff of the Public Record Office who have, outside of office hours, prepared the new transcripts on which this paper is largely based.

The figures set out in Table I have mainly been found from the accounts of the Keepers of the Exchange of London and Canterbury, which are enrolled on the Pipe Rolls, the great annual record of the Exchequer. In a few instances supplementary information has been incorporated from other sources. The mint itself, whilst apparently subsidiary to the Exchange, was for most of the reign farmed out to the moneyers. The Exchange accounts, however, give the 'issues' or profits of exchanging: the seignorage which was at the rate of six pence in the pound. The seignorage was assessed on the purchases of silver taken into the Exchanges. Crump and Johnson state that it was calculated on the weight of silver purchased without any allowance for variations in the

¹ *BNJ* ix, p. 146.

² *BNJ* xi, p. 65.

³ 21 Mar. 1920, *NC* 1920, pp. 94-5.

⁴ 3 June 1939. *BNJ* xxiii, pp. 365-6.

⁵ The figures for two five-year periods, 1243-7 and 1261-5, are given by Major Carlyon-Britton in a paper

entitled 'The chronological sequence of the types of Eadward the Martyr and Æthelræd II' in *BNJ* xvi, p. 23. Sir John Craig, in *The Mint* (Cambridge, 1953) starts his list of figures for mint output at 1273 (p. 410) and so was presumably unaware of these earlier records.

alloy.¹ It would not be proper to dispute this without examining all the evidence for the period they were discussing, namely the reigns of Edwards I, II, and III, but there are some indications that in the reign presently being reviewed the notes of silver purchases may represent the payments made for silver after adjusting for variations in alloy and, indeed, also for the minting charges. There survive in the Public Record Office (so far as can be traced) only five rolls of purchases of silver during this reign: two of London and three of Canterbury—and only two of these rolls are complete. It is possible, nevertheless, to see from them that the total purchases of silver agree with the figures shown in many of the Exchange accounts as the amounts made (*fabricatis*). The most likely explanation is that the silver bought was immediately passed to the mint for conversion into coin. For in certain years in the earlier part of the reign the accounts also give details of payments made to the Keepers of the dies at the rate of one shilling (for one period six pence) for every hundred pounds struck (also described as *fabricatis*). The amounts struck on which these payments to the die-keepers were made usually tally almost exactly with the purchases of silver on which the issues were calculated. Whilst, therefore, it is not possible to state unequivocally that the figures now presented represent the actual amounts struck in all cases, there is a presumption that they are, at the least, very close.

The seignorage at the Canterbury Exchange was shared with the archbishop. The king enjoyed the profit of five dies and the archbishop that of three. In practice, the total profits were shared in the proportions of five-eighths and three-eighths respectively, and no attempt was made, in this reign at least, to assess the amounts actually struck by each moneyer. When the archbishopric was vacant and the king took the profits of the see for his own use, the division of the Exchange profit was usually still made and the clerical share paid to the Keeper of the archbishopric. In the majority of the accounts the profits, and expenses, are shown only in respect of the king's share, and it is accordingly necessary in these cases to multiply the figures by 8/5 to obtain the true totals. At London the king took the whole of the seignorage. In the earlier parts of the reign the Exchange was sometimes farmed out to lessees at an annual rental. In these years it is, of course, not possible to obtain the amounts struck as the lessee merely accounts for the rent without giving any details. It is not at all clear how the archbishop's portion was accounted for in these circumstances.

Crump and Johnson stated that 242 pence were struck to the pound in the first few years of Edward I—the last few years of the Long Cross issues.² Using the same criteria, the same number, 242, was struck during the latter years of the reign of Henry III, and there is no reason to think that this was an innovation. The phraseology used in the accounts is *de cremento denariorum liberatorum per numerum et receptorum in argento per pondus* (the increment of the pennies paid by tale and received in silver by weight). This increment, from 1259, is calculated on the issues of the Exchange at the rate of two pence in the pound.³ In earlier years it is not always possible to ascertain on what

¹ NC 1913, pp. 201–2.

² NC 1913, pp. 201 and 205.

³ We have now found a Memoranda Roll entry which regulates these payments:

LTR Memo Roll 42–3 H. III (E. 368/34), m. 5

KR Memo Roll 42–3 H. III (E. 159/32), m. 6

Ita quod a tempore quo idem Willelmus recepit cus-

todiam cambii nichil recepit de placitis et perquisitis. Ita quod cum Rex aliquem thesaurum suum in cambio per pondus sicut mercator aliquem numero quando recepit vel mandat recepi numero tunc debet custos cambii respondere Regi de ij d. de quibus libris vel per preceptum Regis cuiusque libertam.

figure the increment is calculated—the position is further clouded by what appear to be errors in the arithmetic—but on occasion the increment is stated to be based on the sums actually paid to the king.

In the reigns of kings Richard and John there are occasional references to the profits of the Exchange. Sometimes they are the direct profits of the Exchanges, at others the rents receivable when the Exchanges were let out at farm. From none of them can we closely determine the amounts of coin struck. The years immediately preceding the civil war are silent on the subject, though this must not necessarily be construed as meaning there was no minting activity. During, and after, the war the Exchequer did not function properly for some considerable time and the records are defective even where they were compiled at all.¹ Thus it is that the first notice of coining in the reign of Henry III occurs in the Pipe Roll of 17 John: a roll that must, in fact, have been compiled in the immediate post-war years.² The account is in respect of the London Exchange only and for a period of twelve weeks only, in the second year of the new reign, from 15 November 1217 to 7 February 1218. Again it does not give sufficient detail for a close estimate of the amount struck, but it was probably about £3,000 (though it may have been double that figure).

The next figures are found in the Pipe Roll of 8 Henry III and are for the period end-July 1220 to beginning-November 1222.³ Separate figures are given for the two Exchanges of London and Canterbury. The very brief details in the account may most usefully be supplemented by figures recorded on the Close Roll of 9 Henry III. From this source can be calculated quarterly outputs of the Canterbury mint from which it can be seen that the sums exchanged in the summer months are vastly greater than in the six winter months; a reflection of the seasonal nature of cross-channel trade at this time; a trade on which the Canterbury Exchange, even more than that of London, must have so largely depended. These supplementary figures are set out on Table II.

Following this period is a short gap when there was probably no minting, followed by a two-year period when the Exchange was let out to farm. At the conclusion of this farm, there is a period of just under four years, March 1225 to March 1229, where combined figures for the two Exchanges are given, both of the issues and of the payments to the die-keepers. The two sets of figures cannot be reconciled exactly, partly perhaps due to the incidence of the archbishop's share at Canterbury, and we have therefore shown for the combined outputs the sums obtained by grossing up the payments to the die-keepers as being probably the more reliable. The Exchanges were then again let out to farm for a period of four years from March 1229. This farmer only accounts for three years in the Pipe Rolls, however, and after what would seem to be a short gap the ubiquitous Peter de Rivallis became farmer for two years from July 1232. No figures are available again, therefore, until the period commencing July 1234, from which date the run of accounts is unbroken for the remainder of the reign with separate returns always being given for London and Canterbury. This next account covers a period of just over three and a half years, to February 1238. The amounts calculated by grossing up the issues agree almost exactly with the sums stated in the Pipe Roll account to have been *fabricatis* and on which the die-keepers fees were based. This is followed by an account

¹ See, for example, the introductions to the Pipe Roll Society volumes (New Series), xxxv, pp. xi–xiii, and xxxvii, pp. 1–8.

² *PRS* (NS), xxxvii, pp. 20–2.

³ The dates of London are slightly different from those of Canterbury as shown by the Close Roll entry set out in Table II.

which covers just over eight years, to April 1246, and again the amounts *fabricatis* for the whole period are given. For Canterbury they agree almost to the pound, but at London there is a discrepancy which, while over £2,000, is only some 1.3 per cent. The last Short Cross account is for nineteenth months. We do not have the crosscheck of the die-keepers fees for Canterbury; for London it is an exact £100 out. This might well have been a scribal error as the fees were originally omitted from the expenses and not allowed until October 1251.¹

From 1 November 1247 the king's brother Richard, Earl of Cornwall, later king of the Romans, shared for twelve years the king's profits of the Exchange.² It is from this date also that we assume the Long Cross pennies to have been struck in substitution for the Short Cross type. The payments to the die-keepers are no longer recorded, but from July 1250 the issues are described in the accounts as being based on an amount *fabricatis*, save for the Canterbury entry for the short period from 1 December 1261 to 22 January 1262 where the issues figure only is given. In all but three cases the issues are correctly calculated at one-fortieth of the sums *fabricatis*. Two of these differences are comparatively minor and both occur in the first period for which the figures are given, July 1250 to May 1252. In both the Pipe and Chancellor's Rolls the amounts *fabricatis* are given as London £68,894 and Canterbury £37,040: the issues grossed up come to £68,994 and £37,209 respectively—the same figures as are given in preliminary views of these accounts preserved in the Public Record Office.³ The third case is at London in the last account for the reign, where the Rolls say £48,601 and the calculation is £18,601. The latter is almost certainly correct, for the profit of the mint (the 'foundry' of the Exchange) in this period indicates that the minting, and therefore presumably also the exchanging, was comparatively low. All three are probably scribal errors.⁴

In the Short Cross period, during the twenty years for which figures are available, the aggregate output of the two mints was some £667,000. This represents some 160 million pennies, an annual average of £33,000 or 8 million pennies. For the Long Cross period of Henry III's reign the aggregate is some £1,300,000 over twenty-five years, equivalent to over 300 million pennies, an annual average of £52,000 or 12½ million pennies. In making the comparison with the Short Cross figures, however, regard must be had to the fact that the accounts for the latter start in the middle of the type, whereas those of the Long Cross issue include the recoinage consequent on the introduction of the new type. Both sets of figures serve to bring out the massive scale of the minting operations. For the first two years of the Long Cross coinage London was striking an average of 60,000 pennies a day (assuming a 300-day working year, and there are indications that the number of working days may have only been a quarter of this figure) and Canterbury, on the same basis, over 30,000. It is instructive to compare these figures with those for the reign of Edward I. In the first six months, from 28 April 1279 to 30 November 1279, of the new Edwardian sterling coinage, £92,688 was struck into pennies at London alone: a daily average of some 150,000 pieces. Over the reign (from the introduction of the new sterling) London's average annual output is approximately £40,000 and Canterbury's £14,700.

¹ Liberate Rolls III, p. 383.

² *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1232-47*, pp. 503, 505, and 511. The Exchange accounts prove that it was the last of these which was acted upon.

³ Exchequer Accounts Various (E. 101/288/1 and 2).

⁴ The first could arise by the omission of a 'c' from the Pipe Roll number; the last by insertion of an 'l'.

Pipe Roll	Accountants	From	To	Years and months	Amount Fabricatis				Remarks	
					London		Canterbury			
					£	s. d.	£	s. d.		
8 H. III (E372/68), m. 6	Andrew Bukerel	July 1220	Nov. 1222	2-3	9,013		34,026		See Table II	
12 H. III (E372/72), m. 10	Alexander de Dorset and Henry de Sancto Albano	Nov. 1222	Mar. 1223	0-5	—		—		No profits made	
"	" " " "	Mar. 1223	Mar. 1225	2-0	?		?		Farmed for 2 years	
"	" " " "	Mar. 1225	July 1226	1-3		£21,700			Combined Account	
"	" " Richard Reinger	July 1226	Mar. 1229	2-8		£23,316			Combined Account	
13 H. III (E372/73), m. 13	Richard Reinger	Mar. 1229	Mar. 1232	3-0	?		?		{ Granted farm for 4 years, but only accounts for the first three of them in P. 13, m. 13; P. 14, pp. 102-3, P. 15, m. 14. Reinger's accounts in later rolls only account for his balance of rent, etc., still owing.	
		Mar. 1232	July 1232	0-4	?		?			Unexplained gap
21 H. III (E372/81), m. 15	Peter de Rivallis and William Hardell	July 1232	July 1234	2-0	?		?		Farmed for 2 years	
"	William Hardell	July 1234	July 1235	1-0	17,826		20,251		{ London Totals of the four figures Payments made to die-keepers on: £63,277 £63,276 16s. 9d.	
"	"	July 1235	July 1236	1-0	18,577		28,298			{ Canterbury £95,930 £95,937 0s. 0d.
"	"	July 1236	July 1237	1-0	19,163		34,760				{ London Totals of the eight figures Payments made to die-keepers on: £169,064 £166,887 0s. 0d.
"	"	July 1237	Feb. 1238	0-8	7,711		12,621			{ Canterbury £184,709 £184,708 7s. 2d.
29 H. III (E372/89), m. 13	"	Feb. 1238	Feb. 1239	1-0	10,854		17,684		{ London Totals of the eight figures Payments made to die-keepers on: £169,064 £166,887 0s. 0d.	
"	"	Feb. 1239	Feb. 1240	1-0	9,536		24,563			{ Canterbury £184,709 £184,708 7s. 2d.
"	"	Feb. 1240	Feb. 1241	1-0	21,576		28,914		{ London Totals of the eight figures Payments made to die-keepers on: £169,064 £166,887 0s. 0d.	
"	"	Feb. 1241	Feb. 1242	1-0	12,380		14,705			{ Canterbury £184,709 £184,708 7s. 2d.
"	"	Feb. 1242	Feb. 1243	1-0	23,128		16,792		{ London Totals of the eight figures Payments made to die-keepers on: £169,064 £166,887 0s. 0d.	
"	"	Feb. 1243	Feb. 1244	1-0	37,623		34,819			{ Canterbury £184,709 £184,708 7s. 2d.
"	"	Feb. 1244	Feb. 1245	1-0	29,253		18,868		{ London Totals of the eight figures Payments made to die-keepers on: £169,064 £166,887 0s. 0d.	
"	"	Feb. 1245	Apr. 1246	1-1	24,714		28,364			{ Canterbury £184,709 £184,708 7s. 2d.
32 H. III (E372/92), m. 16	Executors of William Hardell	Apr. 1246	Nov. 1247	1-7	38,662	10 5	27,967		Payment made to die-keepers in respect of London only.	
33 H. III (E372/93), m. 1	John Silvester for himself and William Hardell	Nov. 1247	Nov. 1248	1-0	72,410		39,925		From 1 Nov. 1247 to 1 Nov. 1259, Henry de Wrokeshull acted as an additional joint accountant on behalf of Richard, the king's brother.	
"	John Silvester	Nov. 1248	Nov. 1249	1-0	79,893		41,358			{ London: Exchequer K.R. Accounts Various (E101) 288/1
"	"	Nov. 1249	July 1250	0-8	35,642		18,242				{ Canterbury: " " " " 288/2
35 H. III (E372/95), m. 6	"	July 1250	May 1252	1-10	68,994	3 11	37,209	1 0	{ London: Exchequer K.R. Accounts Various (E101) 288/1	
38 H. III (E372/98), m. 6	John de Sumercote	May 1252	Nov. 1254	2-6	83,827	7 7	89,414	2 10		{ Canterbury: " " " " 288/2
40 H. III (E372/100), m. 19	"	Nov. 1254	July 1256	1-8	51,261	10 8	65,859	9 7	{ London: Exchequer K.R. Accounts Various (E101) 288/4	
"	"	July 1256	June 1257	0-11	28,329	11 3	32,462	15 3		{ Canterbury: " " " " 288/3
41 H. III (E372/101), m. 4	"	June 1257	Oct. 1257	0-4	9,167	17 0	14,118	16 0			{ London: Exchequer K.R. Accounts Various (E101) 288/4
42 H. III (E372/102), m. 14	William de Gloucester	Oct. 1257	Dec. 1258	1-2½	28,060	7 3	34,593	18 3	{ Canterbury: " " " " 288/3	
44 H. III (E372/104), m. 2	"	Dec. 1258	Nov. 1259	0-10½	19,090	11 4	32,144	10 9		{ London: Exchequer K.R. Accounts Various (E101) 288/6 and 299/1
"	"	Nov. 1259	Mar. 1261	1-4½	26,524	7 9	31,374	9 9	{ Canterbury: " " " " 288/5	
45 H. III (E372/105), m. 20	"	Mar. 1261	Dec. 1261	0-8½	23,907	12 10	36,459	12 7			{ London: Exchequer K.R. Accounts Various (E101) 288/6 and 299/1
"	"	Dec. 1261	Jan. 1262	0-2	2,139	16 9	635	0 0	{ Canterbury: " " " " 288/5	
46 H. III (E372/106), m. 21	Roger de Leye and John de Gisorz	Jan. 1262	Jan. 1263	1-0	26,163	8 5	24,008	15 1		{ London: Exchequer K.R. Accounts Various (E101) 288/6 and 299/1
48 H. III (E372/108), m. 15	Roger de Legh and William son of Richard	Jan. 1263	Jan. 1264	1-0	34,621	13 10	18,681	12 0	{ Canterbury: " " " " 288/5	
48 H. III (E372/108), m. 15d	" " "	Jan. 1264	July 1264	0-5½	6,558	16 1	813	9 10		Nothing made at Canterbury Canterbury: from Jan. 1265
49 H. III (E372/109), m. 11	William son of Richard	July 1264	July 1265	1-0	5,389	19 2	0	0 0	Nothing made at Canterbury Canterbury: from Jan. 1265	
"	"	July 1265	Nov. 1265	0-4½	16,933	3 6	14,752	14 4			Nothing made at Canterbury Canterbury: from Jan. 1265
50 H. III (E372/110), m. 13	Richard de Bamfeld and William son of Richard	Nov. 1265	July 1266	0-7	19,013	8 7	12,026	1 3	Ruding, <i>Annals of the Coinage</i> (1840) (i), p. 65 (see note below ¹)	
54 H. III (E372/114), m. 19	Bartholomew de Castello and Richard de Bamfeld	July 1266	Dec. 1270	4-6	70,395	0 9	25,786	19 1		Ruding, <i>Annals of the Coinage</i> (1840) (i), p. 65 (see note below ¹)
56 H. III (E372/116), m. 2	Bartholomew de Castello	Dec. 1270	Nov. 1272	1-11	18,601	3 8	637	17 4		

¹ The document to which Ruding refers cannot be traced in the P.R.O. Presumably it was a Roll of Purchases of Silver and gives an intermediate total for this period.

Another point of interest that emerges from the accounts is the relative importance of the London and Canterbury mints at different times. For the first period for which concurrent figures occur, 1220 to 1222, the London output is £9,013 against Canterbury's £34,026. The next set of figures, 1225 to 1229, does not separate the two mints, but from 1234, when separate figures are found again, Canterbury remains consistently ahead of London until 1242: the respective outputs are £181,796 and £117,623. Thereafter the position is reversed, with London generally in the lead until the end of the Short Cross issue in 1247. With the Long Cross coinage the same trend is generally maintained, though there is one period, 1252 to 1261, when the Canterbury output again exceeds that of London. Thereafter Canterbury definitely sinks into second place, a position it continues to occupy under Edward I.

The accounts deal almost exclusively with London and Canterbury. Apart from one reference to Bury St. Edmunds in 1226,¹ and, in the account for 1250–2, to the collection of some £4,000 described as 'arrears of the towns in which there were Exchanges' in respect of the provincial mints opened for the recoinage into the Long Cross type,² the other mints are virtually ignored. In practice, of course, the only other mints open after about 1218 were the ecclesiastical mints of the abbot of Bury St. Edmunds (for most of the reign) and the Bishop of Durham (for the last half of the reign). There is, however, one notable exception. There is an account in the Pipe Rolls for the Exchange of Ireland opened from October 1251 to September 1254 where the sum *fabricatis* was £43,238.³

No attempt has been made in this paper to associate the various issues of coins with the amounts shown as having been produced. This is a separate task. What seemed to be important as a first step was to make available to both numismatic and economic students without further delay the figures that Fox had collected so many years ago. In the Tables that follow, round pounds signify that the figures have been obtained by calculation; shillings and pence are only shown when there is some documentary source for them. Individual dates within months have not been shown on Table I as there are occasional slight differences between London and Canterbury and, indeed, sometimes small discrepancies between the close of one account and the opening of the next. It has been thought best, therefore, to leave these minor points until full publication and discussion of the documents.

¹ Pipe Roll 12 Henry III (E. 372/72), m. 10.

² Pipe Roll 35 Henry III (E. 372/95), m. 6.

³ Pipe Roll 38 Henry III (E. 372/98), m.

TABLE II

Compiled from Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum . . ., vol. 2, pp. 69, 70

<i>From</i>	<i>To</i>	<i>Amount purchased</i>		
		£	s. d.	
LONDON				
28 July 1220	10 Oct. 1220	439	19 1	
10 Oct. 1220	2 June 1221	1,019	0 3	
2 June 1221	1 Aug. 1221	1,836	0 3	Exchequer K.R. Accounts Various (E. 101) 288/7, m. 4.
Sum for the year		3,294	19 7	„ „ „ „
1 Aug. 1221	1 Aug. 1222	5,483		
1 Aug. 1222	10 Nov. 1222	235		
Sum of the totals		£9,013		
CANTERBURY				
1 Aug. 1220	29 Sept. 1220	1,303		
29 Sept. 1220	7 Nov. 1220	444		
6 Nov. 1220	25 Mar. 1221	485		
25 Mar. 1221	24 June 1221	9,638		
24 June 1221	29 Sept. 1221	3,747		
29 Sept. 1221	25 Dec. 1221	672		
25 Dec. 1221	25 Mar. 1222	3,898	0 4	Ruding <i>Annals of the Coinage</i> (1840) (i), p. 65.
25 Mar. 1222	29 May 1222	5,391	17 1	Exchequer K.R. Accounts Various (E. 101) 288/7, m. 2.
29 May 1222	24 June 1222	4,834		
24 June 1222	29 Sept. 1222	3,357		
29 Sept. 1222	7 Nov. 1222	257		
Sum of the period to 6 Nov. 1222		£34,026		

THE LONG VOIDED CROSS STERLINGS OF ALEXANDER III ILLUSTRATED BY BURNS

IAN STEWART

SUBSEQUENT research and additional material have done little to upset the basic arrangement worked out for most parts of Scottish coinage by Edward Burns¹ over eighty years ago. The single substantial exception to this is the Long Voided Cross coinage of Alexander III of which our knowledge has been revolutionized by the discovery of nearly 2,000 specimens in the huge Brussels find² of 1908, and of nearly 500 in the Colchester find³ of 1969 (see Appendix II).

In the absence of a representative selection of the material and with many of the important clues not known in the nineteenth century, Burns cannot be blamed for having missed some of the steps crucial to working out a correct sequence. Nevertheless, his observations are usually apposite and in two important respects his treatment of the series embodies factors not brought out in the A. H. Baldwin classification based on the Brussels coins. The first of these is that clearly defined changes in lettering took place independently of the types, which the successive letter counts subdivide or overlap. The second is that certain distinctive varieties known to Burns were not represented in the Brussels hoard apparently because they belong to a later period. The purpose of the present paper is therefore to demonstrate these two aspects in the context of the Baldwin arrangement and to reclassify the Burns material by Baldwin types. In spite of the gaps in it, this should enable the Burns plates to be used for reference in conjunction with the new classification.

Burns defined five classes of lettering as follows:

- Class I Plain x and plain A
- II Plain x and sharp oblique A
- III Florid x and florid A
- IV Rounded x and broad oblique A
- V Curule chair-shaped x and medium oblique A

¹ *The Coinage of Scotland* (1887), i, pp. 118–62.

² Stewart, 'The Brussels Hoard: Mr. Baldwin's Arrangement of the Scottish Coins', *BNJ* xxix (1959), pp. 91–7. In 1959 I was under the impression that the manuscript catalogue compiled by A. H. Baldwin was based on die-varieties. However, I have since had the opportunity of examining a large number of the coins still in the possession of A. H. Baldwin & Sons Ltd., and it is clear that the 320-odd entries in the catalogue were based primarily on reverse readings (not dies) within each mint and type. The coins selected for the R. C. Lockett collection were therefore far from being a complete series of the die-varieties in the hoard. Almost all types for moneyers were included (the exceptions being type IV of *Dun* and type VIII of Adam at Roxburgh), and most reverse readings. In addition to the coins in the Baldwin catalogue, two envelopes marked 'Illegible' and 'Mint Uncertain',

have come to light containing uncatalogued Scottish coins from Brussels numbering some 100 in all. It is likely that the total number of Scottish coins in the hoard, allowing for a few strays, was therefore not far short of 2,000. I would like to express my gratitude to Mr. Peter Mitchell for making available the residual Brussels material for me to study.

³ The 1969 Colchester hoard contained some 14,000 coins, of which the English end with Long Cross class Vc except for 1916 die-duplicates of class VI of Bury. The hoard is currently under analysis by Miss Marion Archibald, who has invited me to collaborate with her in recording the Scottish series and has kindly allowed me to include references to the hoard in this paper prior to its publication. A short discussion of the hoard and a summary of its contents has been published by her in the London Numismatic Club's *Newsletter*, March 1971.

Certain other letters, such as R, also show markedly different characteristics from one class to another but x and A will serve for most purposes; drawings of them can be found in *The Scottish Coinage*, page 19.

Burns class I lettering covers coins which would be classified under Baldwin types I, II, and VIII as well as the post-Brussels varieties. Burns class II lettering relates to a few coins of Baldwin type II, but otherwise to the sequence of types, V, VI, VII and early VIII. Class III lettering covers later type II and earlier type III; it may in fact be broken down further, since the florid x is in type II and early III of the swastika form, but thereafter of a blobbed appearance like a rather untidy cross pommée. Classes IV and V represent two further stages of lettering within type III.

A subdivision of Baldwin type III can thus be made:

- Type IIIa Swastika x and florid A
- IIIb Blobbed x and florid A
- IIIc Rounded x and broad oblique A
- IIId Curule x and medium oblique A

These varieties overlapped but nevertheless reflect the broad sequence in which the plentiful coins of this type were struck.

TABLE OF TYPES AND MINTS OF ALEXANDER LONG CROSS STERLINGS

	<i>I</i>	<i>II</i>	<i>III</i>	<i>IV</i>	<i>V</i>	<i>VI</i>	<i>VII</i>	<i>VIII</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>
Aberdeen	..	B	B	..	..	..	B	..	..	..
Ayr	..	B	B	X	..	..	B	..	..	..
Berwick	B	B	B	..	..	X	B	B	B	B
Dun	B	X	..	..	..	..	..	..
Edinburgh	B	X	B	B	B	..	..	..
Forfar	B	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Fres	B	..	..	..	X	B	..	..
Glasgow	..	B	B	X	..	..	B	..	..	..
Inverness	B	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kinghorn	B	..	..	B	..	..	..	..
Lanark	..	B	B	..	X	..	..	..	..	..
Montrose	B	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Perth	..	B	B	..	..	..	B	B	..	..
Renfrew	X	..	..	B	..	..	..	..
Roxburgh	..	X	B	..	..	X	B	X	..	B
St. Andrews	B	X	..	..	..	..	..	..
Stirling	B	B	..	..	..	..	..	..
Wilanerter	B	..	..	X	..	..	..	..

B = Types illustrated by Burns

X = Other known types

The styles of lettering described by Burns as class I and class II are not in fact uniform in either case. The plain lettering of Baldwin type I, as found on some coins of type II and on most of type VIII, is only superficially similar. The neat, angular letters of Burns's class II, though of some variety, do appear to link together the run of Baldwin types from IV to early VIII and are of significance in two ways as regards the Baldwin types. The first is that class II lettering only occurs on a few coins of type VIII, and these may be presumed to be the earliest of the type. They include almost all the type VIII coins of mints other than Berwick—'Fres' (B. fig. 103), Perth (B. fig. 103A), and Roxburgh—

and it seems likely that these other mints ceased to be active soon after the start of type VIII. The second consideration is that the position of any coins classified by Baldwin as of types IV to VII which do not have class II letters is open to some suspicion. Thus the coins of 'type V' of Ayr and Kinghorn should be regarded as variants of type III with unusual busts and a coin by Iohan of Perth (B. fig. 97) is apparently a right-facing bust variety of type VIII and not of type VII.

The eight Brussels types, as described by Baldwin, cover the bulk of the coinage in volume but not in time. The Colchester hoard, the main English element of which closes with coins of 1256, contains a full run of types I to VII and some varieties of type VIII. Types II, III, and VII were the recoinage types equivalent to the English classes II and III. Seven of the sixteen or seventeen Scottish mints of this recoinage were active in type II, and eight in type VII; all were operating in type III. Types IV, V, and VI were only struck by a few mints and were not substantive issues.

All the Brussels types were known to Burns and a summary of their characteristics is given below. (These types relate only to the obverse, and reverse links between the types are numerous.) They are followed by the two types illustrated by Burns, here designated A and B, which were not found at Brussels. They might have been called, say, types IX and X, by extension of the Baldwin numbering, but further work on the series is required before the later phases of the coinage are sufficiently well understood for this. In the table on p. 68, the types of the coinage known at each mint are indicated, and it can be seen that although the main ones were known to Burns his material was very deficient in respect of the non-substantive types IV, V, and VI.

The Obverse types (all have a sceptre before the face)

- I. As described by Baldwin, coins all from a single obverse die, with a large head to right, wearing a cap. This die is also known with a Short Cross reverse (B. fig. 76b), and belongs to the small series of Short Cross coins in the name of Alexander with an unbearded portrait and therefore presumably struck after the death of Alexander II (1249). All these coins, with Short or Long Cross reverses, are closely related, and taking the Voided Cross coinage of Alexander III as a whole they may all be included under type I, which would therefore cover the whole of the coinage of Alexander III struck from pre-recoinage obverse dies.
Mint: Berwick only, with Short Cross (B. figs. 75A, c, 76b) and Long Cross (B. fig. 77) reverses.
- II. The first recoinage type. Head right, of varying size, with close cap.
Mints: Aberdeen (B. figs. 92b, 93, A)
Ayr (B. fig. 105)
Berwick (B. figs. 78-9)
Glasgow (B. figs. 92c-e)
Lanark (B. fig. 104b)
Perth (B. figs. 104, A)
Roxburgh (B. —)
- III. The second and largest recoinage type, in which all known mints of the coinage appear. Crowned head left, with considerable variety of portrait; four subdivisions of lettering as described above.
Mints: Aberdeen (B. figs. 109, 110, 115A, 135-8)
Ayr (B. figs. 106, 126A)
Berwick (B. figs. 107, A, 114b, 139-40b)
Dun (B. figs. 114c, 119, A, 130, 131A, 132)
Edinburgh (B. figs. 134, A, B)

Forfar (B. figs. 116-17)
Fres (B. fig. 129)
 Glasgow (B. figs. 118, A, B, 127-8)
 Inverness (B. figs. 122A, B, 123)
 Kinghorn (B. fig. 108)
 Lanark (B. fig. 115)
 Montrose (B. figs. 120, 131)
 Perth (B. figs. 111-14)
 Renfrew (B. —)
 Roxburgh (B. figs. 107B, 121-2, 124-6)
 St. Andrews (B. figs. 115B, C, D, 133, A, B)
 Stirling (B. figs. 110A, B, 114A)
Wilanerter (B. fig. 110C)

- IV. Basically similar to type III, but a moulded bust with a new, elegant crown and lettering of Burns class II. Of the six mints of the type only Stirling was known to Burns; *Dun* was unknown to Baldwin.

Mints: Ayr

Dun
 Edinburgh
 Glasgow
 St. Andrews
 Stirling (B. figs. 94D, E)

- V. Another variant of type III in appearance, with a tall bust; class II lettering. The only mints are:
 Edinburgh (B. figs. 94A-C)
 Lanark (*obv.* die-link with Edinburgh)

- VI. Bust not unlike type V but facing right.

Mints: Berwick (B. —)

Edinburgh (B. fig. 94)
 Kinghorn (B. fig. 93C)
 Renfrew (B. fig. 93B)
 Roxburgh (B. —)
Wilanerter (*obv.* = B. fig. 94)

- VII. Crowned head right (except at Glasgow) with thick jewelled band to crown; often a zigzag profile. The next main type after III.

Mints: Aberdeen (B. figs. 100-1)

Ayr (B. fig. 96A)
 Berwick (B. figs. 95, A, B)
 Edinburgh (B. fig. 101A)
Fres (B. —)
 Glasgow (B. fig. 102)
 Perth (B. figs. 98, 99A, 101B)
 Roxburgh (B. fig. 96)

- VIII. Baldwin's 'Low Crown variety'. Much variation of style of bust, but usually small and with low, flat crown. Some have right facing bust. Inscriptions sometimes retrograde. Early coins with Burns class II lettering, otherwise class I. The latest type represented in the Brussels and Colchester hoards.

Mints: Berwick (B. figs. 80-4A, 85-9, 89B)

Fres (B. fig. 103)
 Perth (B. figs. 89A, 97, 103A)
 Roxburgh (B. —)

- A. Small, neat, left-facing head with the hair often represented by pellets. The coins are principally of Berwick, and by the moneyer Iohan (B. figs. 90, 91, 92, 92A); the obverse of B. fig. 84D, by Ade of Roxburgh, is akin to these, although its reverse is of type B. Small, squat letters.
- B. Larger, squarish head facing left (B. figs. 84B, C) or right; larger letters. There are often mullets instead of stars on the reverse. The mints are Berwick and Roxburgh, with the moneyers Iohan at Berwick and Ade at both.

The mints

Many more mints were active during this coinage than at any other period in Scottish coinage. Most of them can be identified with certainty, but abbreviated mint-signatures cause doubt in some cases. A full discussion of the mints and moneyers of this coinage, and of obverse die-links between the mints, is contained in a recently published monograph on the *Scottish Mints*.¹

ABERDEEN (*Aberd*, *Abird*, etc.), a new mint in this coinage, and the fifth largest in output, opened in type II and closed in type VII. It had three moneyers in types II and III, Alexander (B. —; figs. 109–10, 115A, 135, 137), Andreas (B. figs. 92, A; B. —), and Ion (B. fig. 92B; figs. 136, 138). The type VII moneyer is Rainald (B. figs. 100–1). No obverse die-links between Aberdeen and other mints have been discovered.

AYR (*Hare*, *Are*, etc.), was a mint only in this coinage, with one moneyer, Simon, in types II (B. fig. 105), III (B. figs. 106, 126A), IV (B. —), and VII (B. fig. 96A). The first and last types are very rare, type II being the only known type for any mint not represented in the Brussels hoard, although a second specimen was in the Colchester hoard. No links with other mints.

BERWICK (*Berwik*), the principal mint of the coinage, was the only one to strike types I and post-Brussels A, and was also overwhelmingly the largest mint of type VIII. Type II is rare of this mint, no doubt because the type I obverse continued in use. The moneyers are: Robert in types I (B. fig. 77), II (B. fig. 79), III (B. figs. 107, A, 114B, 140A, B), VI (B. —), and VII (B. fig. 95B); Wales in types I (B. —), II (B. —), and III (B. fig. 140); Wales and Robert jointly in type II (B. fig. 78); Walter in types III (B. —), VII (B. —), and VIII (B. figs. 84, A, 85–9, 89B); Willem in the same types as Walter (B. figs. 139, A; 95A; and —); Arnald in types VII (B. fig. 95) and VIII (B. —); Iohan in types VII (B. —), VIII (B. figs. 80–3), and post-Brussels A (B. figs. 90–2A), and B (B. —); and Ade in post-Brussels B (B. fig. 84B). There are two die-links with Perth in type VIII (B. fig. 103A; B. figs. 89 and 89A).

DUN is a problematic mint-signature, since it could denote any of several important towns beginning with this name-element. There is one reverse of the moneyer Wilam (B. fig. 114C) but most of the coins are by Walter (B. figs. 119, A, 131A). Until recently only type III was known, but type IV was included in an unsorted parcel from the Brussels hoard. Multiple obverse die-links exist linking *Dun* with Glasgow, *Fres* and Montrose (B. fig. 114C; B. figs. 119, 119A, 120; B. figs. 127–31). There is also a link with Edinburgh (B. fig. 134B), moneyer Alex, in which the *Dun* reverse has the name Aleter, apparently an accidental blend of the names Alex and Walter (B. fig. 132). It is possible that *Dun* and *Fres* both denote the same mint, Dumfries, since Walter's *Fres* coins are on the whole rather later in the series than those of *Dun*; but more obverse die-links might perhaps have been expected. Dundee is another possibility, though the supposed *Dun*–*Forfar* die-link which would support this should now be regarded as highly doubtful.²

EDINBURGH (*Eden*), was one of the larger mints. Its main moneyers were Alexander in types III (B. figs. 134, A, B), IV (B. —), V (B. fig. 94A), and VII (B. fig. 101A), and Wilam in types III (B. —) and

¹ *Mints, Dies and Currency*, ed. R. A. G. Carson, pp. 165–289.

² *BNJ* xxix, p. 97. An obverse die-link between Walter and Wilam at *Dun* is now known which

virtually disposes of the suggestion previously made that these moneyers might have been working at separate *Dun*-mints.

V (B. figs. 94b, c). The die-link between Alex and 'Aleter' of Dun in type III has been noted above;¹ in type IV Alex has an obverse die-link with Stirling (B. figs. 94d, e). Type V, though struck by Alex, belongs predominantly to Wilam; the only other mint of which it is recorded is Lanark, and then the obverse die was one used by Wilam at Edinburgh also. A single reverse die exists with the name Nicol. Its proper obverse is of type VI (B. fig. 94), but both these dies are paired with the dies of some curious coins of type III with the enigmatic reverse inscription *Wilanerter*. Nicol's coins, with the mint-signature *Ed*, must presumably be attributed to Edinburgh, but in that case the absence of die-links with Alex and Wilam is surprising.

FORFAR (*For*) is known only for type III, mostly by the moneyer Wilam (B. —) but also by Simond (B. figs. 116–17). There are no die-links with other mints recorded (see under *Fres*). Baldwin attributed these coins to Forres, but Forfar is a much likelier mint at this period.

FRES, whatever the attribution of the *Dun* coins, is presumably Dumfries. Its regular moneyer is Walter, in types III (B. 129), VII (B. —), and VIII (B. fig. 103). The multiple die-links in type III are noted above, and there are also links with Roxburgh in types VII and VIII. There is a reverse die with the moneyer's name Wilam supposed by Baldwin (Brussels hoard no. 146) to read *Lr* (Lanark) which appears to be of this mint (*Fr*); its obverse die is shared by Wilam at *Dun* (B. fig. 114c) and with a reverse die attributed by Baldwin to Forfar (Brussels hoard no. 116) but of doubtful mint (reading ONOOF).

GLASGOW (*Glas*) may have been an episcopal mint; the see was often held by the Chancellor. The only moneyer is Walter, presumably the same man as at *Dun*, *Fres*, and *Mun* with which mints there is an obverse die-link. The moneyer at Renfrew, not far distant, was also called Walter. Glasgow alone of the Walter mints commences with type II (B. figs. 92c–e) of which type it was the most prolific mint of all. The later Glasgow types are III (B. figs. 118, A, B, 127), IV (B. —), and VII (B. fig. 102). An oddity of this mint is that one die of type II and the only die of type VII have a left-facing bust; in the latter case Baldwin was thereby led, I think mistakenly, to place the coin under his type V.

INVERNESS (*Inver*) had one moneyer, Gefrai (once Iefrai, B. fig. 122A) only in type III (B. figs. 122b, 123). It was one of the smaller mints.

KINGHORN (*King*), with the moneyer Wilam, was active in types III (B. fig. 108) and VI (B. fig. 93c). This was also one of the lesser mints. On account of the slightly unusual bust on one die, Baldwin classified most of the type III coins of this mint under his type V.

LANARK (*Lanar*), again a small mint, also has the moneyer's name Wilam. The types are II (B. fig. 104b), III (B. fig. 115) and, with the Edinburgh obverse as described above, type V (B. —). The supposed die-link with *Dun* in type III must now be regarded as discredited (see under *Fres*).

MONTROSE is regarded as a mint in type III on the strength of a single reverse die reading Hun, i.e. 'Mun' (B. figs. 120, 131), and if correctly so is the rarest of the coinage. In the absence of other dies there must remain an element of doubt, although Montrose would have been a suitable place for a mint at this period. The moneyer is Walter, and one obverse links with Glasgow, *Dun* and *Fres*.

PERTH (*Perte*), second only to Berwick in importance as a mint in this coinage, struck types II, III, VII, and early VIII. Most of its coins of types II (B. figs. 104, A), III (B. figs. 111–14), and VII (B. figs. 99, A) bear the name of Ion Cokin, known to have been Provost of the burgh late in the previous reign. The name Ion alone also occurs in types III (B. —) and VII (B. fig. 98), lengthening to Iohan in the latter type and in type VIII (if B. fig. 97 is properly to be assigned to type VIII, as it seems that it should be in view of the lettering, and not as by Baldwin to type VII). Since the Ion Cokin coins begin before those of plain Ion, it may be that only the one individual was involved. A late moneyer at this mint is Rainald, in types VII (B. fig. 101b) and VIII (B. figs. 89A, 103A); in both types he has obverse die-links with Berwick.

RENFREW (*Rin*), with the moneyer Walter, is a mint of types III (B. —) and VI (B. fig. 93b). The coins have sometimes been attributed to Kinghorn, but the initial letter of the mint-name is clearly distinct from the κ on Wilam's coins, and there are no die-links between the two. Renfrew was one of the smallest mints.

¹ Three die-links have now been noticed between the die may have been used at this mint and not at the Aleter reverse and Edinburgh, suggesting that Dun; see *Scottish Mints*, p. 272.

ROXBURGH (*Rokesb*, *Roce*, etc.), one of the four largest mints, was active from type II to early type VIII, and again in post-Brussels B. Its two regular moneyers were Andrew, who began in type II (B. —), and also struck types III (B. figs. 107b, 122, 125), VI (B. —), VII (B. fig. 96), and VIII (B. —), and Adam, a prolific moneyer in types III (B. figs. 121, 124, 126) and VII (B. —), whose name appears on a coin of type VIII in an unsorted parcel from the Brussels hoard and again in the post-Brussels type (B. fig. 84d), sometimes as Ade (B. fig. 84c). There are also two lesser moneyers, Michel (B. —), whose types are III and VI, and Wilam (type II), a name unknown at this mint prior to the discovery of the Colchester hoard. Obverse die-links with *Fres* in types VII and VIII would suit the identification of that mint as Dumfries.

ST. ANDREWS (*Ander*), the bishop's mint, was active during types III (B. figs. 115b–d, 133, A, B) and IV (B. —). The only moneyer is Thomas.

STIRLING (*Strive*), was also a one-moneyer mint (Henri) in types III (B. figs. 110, A, B, 114A) and IV (B. figs. 94d, E). In the latter type an obverse die-link exists with Edinburgh.

Wilanerter is the inscription on a single reverse die, whose proper pair is an obverse of type IIIa (B. fig. 110c). The interpretation of this inscription—even the point at which it begins—is quite uncertain. The only clue is that both dies interchange with those of Nicol, who is presumably an Edinburgh moneyer. An attribution to Lanark (i.e. *Terwi Laner*) seems most improbable.

With the exception of Wilam at Roxburgh in type II, Walter at *Dun* in type IV and Adam at Roxburgh in type VIII, examples of all moneyers for types not figured by Burns were in the Lockett collection, listed in the sale catalogues with references to the numbers in the Baldwin catalogues; items not illustrated in the catalogues can be found in the complete photographic record which was made of the collection. Appendix I to this paper includes a number of corrigenda to the sale-catalogue entries.

In the list of Burns illustrations which follows, where the Burns specimen is from the same die or dies as examples in the Lockett collection from the Brussels hoard, references are given to at least one item in the Lockett photographs, with sale lot and Baldwin catalogue number. Thus Burns fig. 77 is a die-duplicate of coin no. 48 on plate II of the photographs, lot no. 40 in the sale, and no. 3 in the Baldwin catalogue; the die-combination of B. fig. 85 was not represented in the Lockett collection, but it shares an obverse die with two Lockett coins, and its reverse with two others; B. figs. 84 and 87 are cases where only one of the dies, respectively obverse and reverse, is found on a Lockett coin.

B. fig.	Type	Mint	Moneyer	B. class	Notes
77	I	Berwick	Robert	I	Obv. die from Short Cross coinage (cf. B. fig. 76b). Dies = L II 48, lot 40; BH 3 (L. Cat. says 4).
78	II	—	Wal(es) and Rob(ert)	I	Dies = L II 64, lot 47*; BH 19. B. thought the obv. was not the same as that of B. fig. 79, but it appears to be the same die with R altered.
79	II	—	Robert	I	See no. 78. Dies = L II 63, lot 46; BH 14.
80	VIII	—	Iohan	I	
81	VIII	—	—	I	
82	VIII	—	—	I	
83	VIII	—	—	I	
84	VIII	—	Walter	I	Obv. = L V 37, lot 773; BH 298.
84A	VIII	—	—	I	Dies = L V 62, lot 777; BH 322. Mullets on rev.
84B	B	—	Ade	I	Head left; mullets on rev.
84C	B	Roxburgh	Ad(e)	I	Head left; mullets on rev.
84D	B	—	Adam	I	Small head left, as A; mullets on rev.

<i>B. fig.</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>B. class</i>	<i>Notes</i>
85	VIII	Berwick	Walter	I	Head right. Obv. = L V 65, lot 105; BH 318; and = L V 64, lot 777; BH 323. Rev. = L V 40, lot 773; BH 301; and = L V 51, lot 774; BH 311. Reads <i>Walter D.</i>
86	VIII	—	—	I	Dies = L V 36, lot 773; BH 297. Reads <i>Alexa-n</i> (pellet barred) <i>der.</i>
87	VIII	—	—	I	Rev. (retrograde) = L V 46, lot 103; BH 307.
88	VIII	—	—	I	Small neat head left; obv. inscription retrograde. Same obv. as B. fig. 88A, but with die flaw. Dies = L V 45, lot 774; BH 306.
88A	VIII	—	—	I	Same obv. as B. fig. 88, without die flaw. Both inscriptions retrograde. Dies = L V 50, lot 774; BH 310.
89	VIII	—	Walter	I	Dies = L V 29, lot 101; BH 289. Same obv. as B. fig. 89A of Perth.
89A	VIII	Perth	Rainald	I	Dies = L V 55, lot 104; BH 314. Same obv. as B. fig. 89 of Berwick.
89B	VIII	Berwick	Walter	I	Obv. = L V 31, lot 772; BH 291 or 292.
90	A	—	Iohan	I	
91	A	—	—	I	
92	A	—	—	I	Gothic <i>n</i> in <i>Iohan</i>
92A	A	—	—	I	
92B	II	Aberdeen	Ion	I	Obv. = L II 56, lot 44; BH 11. Rev. = L II 96, 97, lot 53, 51; BH 51, 52.
92C	II	Glasgow	Walter	I	Same obv. as B. figs. 92D, E. Dies = L II 67, lot 713, BH 22.
92D	II	—	—	I	Same obv. as B. figs. 92C, E. Dies = L II 69, lot 713; BH 24.
92E	II	—	Walt	I	Same obv. as B. figs. 92C, D. Dies = L II 70, lot 48; BH 25.
93, 93A	II	Aberdeen	Andreas	II	Dies = L II 57, lot 45; BH 12. Burns read the moneyer as Andrew BS.
93B	VI	Renfrew	Walter	II	Dies = L IV 86, lot 88; BH 239.
93C	VI	Kinghorn	Wilam	II	B. thought Lanark. Dies = L IV 85, lot 759; BH 238.
94	VI	Edinburgh	Nicol	II	Dies = L IV 83, lot 89; BH 236. See B. fig. 110c note.
94A	V	—	Alex	II	Obv. = B. fig. 94B; and L IV 66, lot 754; BH 216; etc.
94B	V	—	Wilam	II	Obv. = B. fig. 94A. Dies = L IV 77, lot 755; BH 228.
94C	V	—	—	II	Dies = L IV 75, lot 755; BH 226.
94D	IV	Stirling	Henri	II	Dies = L IV 60, lot 81; BH 207. Obv. = B. fig. 94E. Die-link with Edinburgh.
94E	IV	—	—	II/later	Dies = L IV 59, lot 81; BH 206. Obv. = B. fig. 94D.
95	VII	Berwick	Arnald	II	Dies = L IV 93, lot 93; BH 246.
95A	VII	—	Will	II	Dies = L IV 108, lot 765; BH 261.
95B	VII	—	Robert	II	
96	VII	Roxburgh	Andrew	II	Dies = L V 21, lot 100; BH 281.
96A	VII	Ayr	Simon	II	Dies = L IV 92, lot 761; BH 245.
97	VIII	Perth	Iohan	II	Obv. = L V 9, lot 98; BH 269; and = L V 19, lot 99, BH 279 (moneyer Rainald). Right facing bust; described by Baldwin under type VII.
98	VII	—	Ion	II	Dies = L V 13, lot 769; BH 273.
99	VII	—	Ion Co	II	Dies = L V 16, lot 770; BH 276. Obv. = B. fig. 99A.
99A	VII	—	—	II	Obv. = B. fig. 99. Rev. = L V 17, lot 770; BH 277.
100	VII	Aberdeen	Rainald	II	Obv. = B. fig. 101. Rev. = L IV 91, lot 92; BH 244.
101	VII	—	—	II	Obv. = B. fig. 100. Dies = L IV 90, lot 760; BH 243.
101A	VII	Edinburgh	Alex	II	

<i>B. fig.</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>B. class</i>	<i>Notes</i>
101b	VII	Perth	Rainald	II	Rev. = L V 19, lot 99; BH 279.
102	VII	Glasgow	Walter	II	Dies = L V 66, lot 83; BH 230. Bust left. Baldwin describes this under type V.
103	VIII	Dumfries	Walter	II	Dies = L V 53, lot 84; BH 229. Baldwin describes this under type V.
103a	VIII	Perth	Rainald	II	Dies = L V 56, lot 776; BH 315. Obv. die-link with Berwick, Arnald (L V 23, lot 101; BH 283).
104	II	—	Ion Cokin	III	Dies = L II 81, lot 717; BH 36.
104a	II	Perth	Ion Cokin	III	Dies = L II 80, lot 717; BH 35.
104b	II	Lanark	Wilam	III	Dies = L II 78, lot 49; BH 33.
105	II	Ayr	Simon	III/later	This mint not represented for type II in Brussels hoard. Rev. = L IV 65, lot 753; BH 212.
106	IIIa	—	—	III/later	Dies = L II 99, lot 52; BH 54.
107	IIIa	Berwick	Rob(ert)	III	Dies = L IV 34, lot 54; BH 73. Obv. = B. fig. 107a.
107a	IIIa	—	Robert	III	Obv. = B. fig. 107.
107b	IIIa	Roxburgh	Andrew	III	Dies = L III 96, lot 745; BH 179.
108	IIIb	Kinghorn	Wilam	III	Dies = L IV 80, lot 758; BH 233. Baldwin describes this under type V.
109	IIIa	Aberdeen	Alisand(er)	III/later	Dies = L II 90, lot 721; BH 45. Obv. = B. fig. 110.
110	IIIa	—	—	III/later	Obv. = B. fig. 109. Rev. = L II 89, lot 721; BH 44.
110a	IIIa	Stirling	Henri	III	Dies = L IV 15, lot 78; BH 197. Obv. link with Edinburgh.
110b	IIIa	—	—	III	Dies = L IV 12, lot 78; BH 194.
110c	IIIa	?	'Wilanerter'	III	Dies = L III 65, lot 72; BH 148. Muled both ways with dies of B. fig. 94.
111	IIIb	Perth	Ion Cokin	III	
112	IIIb	—	—	III	Obv. = L III 74, lot 741; BH 157. Pellet-barred N on obv.
112a	IIIb	—	—	III	Rev. = L III 82, lot 742; BH 165.
113	IIIc	—	—	IV	
114	IIIc	—	—	IV	
114a	IIIc	Stirling	Henri	IV	Dies = L IV 8, lot 748; BH 190.
114b	IIIc	Berwick	Robert	IV	Obv. = L IV 37, lot 727; BH 76. Reads <i>Aelxander</i> .
114c	IIIc	Dun	Wila(m)	IV	Dies = L III 9, lot 57; BH 92. Obv. reads <i>Alexadenr</i> . Die-link with Wilam at <i>Fr(es)</i> .
115	IIIc	Lanark	Wilam	IV	Dies = L III 60, lot 739; BH 143.
115a	IIIc	Aberdeen	Alisand(er)	IV	Dies = L II 93, lot 722; BH 48.
115b	IIIc	St. Andrews	Thomas	IV	Obv. die same as B. figs. 115c and d.
115c	IIIc	—	—	IV	<i>Piedfort</i> , wt. 45½ gr. Obv. = B. figs. 115b and d. Dies = L IV 3, lot 747; BH 185.
115d	IIIc	—	—	IV	Obv. = B. figs. 115b, c. Dies = L IV 3, lot 747; BH 186.
116	IIIc	For	Simond	IV	Obv. = L III 26, lot 61; BH 109 (Wilam). Rev. = B. fig. 117.
117	IIIc	—	—	IV	Dies = L III 34, lot 65; BH 117.
118	IIIc	Glasgow	Walter	IV	Obv. = L III 36, lot 733; BH 119.
118a	IIIc	—	—	IV	Dies = L III 44, lot 735; BH 127. Obv. = B. fig. 118b.
118a	IIIc	—	—	IV	Obv. = B. fig. 118a. Rev. = L III 36, lot 733; BH 119.
119	IIIc	Dun	Walter	IV	Dies = L IV 53, lot 729; BH 86c. Obv. = B. figs. 119a and 120 (Montrose).
119a	IIIc	—	—	IV	Obv. = B. fig. 119. Rev. = L IV 51, lot 56; BH 86a.
120	IIIc	Montrose	Walter	IV	Obv. = B. figs. 119 and 119a (Dun). Rev. = B. fig. 131.
121	IIIb	Roxburgh	Adam	'IV'/II	Obv. really style III; die = L III 86, lot 743; BH 169. Rev. = B. fig. 124.
122	III	—	Andrew	'IV'	Copies III? Thin X. Dies = L III 88, lot 743; BH 171.

<i>B. fig.</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>B. class</i>	<i>Notes</i>
122A	IIIc	Inverness	Iefrai	IV	Obv. = B. fig. 122B. Rev. = L III 55, lot 69; BH 138.
122B	IIIc	—	Gefrai	IV	Dies = L III 53, lot 737; BH 136. Obv. = B. fig. 122A.
123	IIId	—	—	V	Rev. = B. fig. 122B.
124	IIId	Roxburgh	Adam	V/II	Dies = L III 83, lot 75; BH 166. Rev. = B. fig. 121.
125	IIId	—	Andrev	V	B. describes obv. lettering as style IV. Obv. = B. fig. 126. Rev. = B. fig. 122.
126	IIId	—	Adam	V	Obv. = B. fig. 125 and L III 87, lot 743; BH 170.
126A	IIId	Ayr	Simon	V	Dies = L III 3, lot 723; BH 57.
127	IIId	Glasgow	Walter	V	Dies = L III 37, lot 61; BH 120. Obv. = B. figs. 128–131; link with <i>Dun</i> , <i>Fres</i> and <i>Mun</i> .
128	IIId	—	—	V	Obv. = B. figs. 127 and 129–31.
129	IIId	Dumfries	Walter	V	Dies = L III 23 and 24, lots 62 and 732; BH 106–7. Obv. = B. figs. 127–8 and 130–1.
130	IIId	Dun	Walter	V	Dies = L IV 56, lot 56; BH 89. Obv. = B. figs. 127–9 and 131.
131	IIId	Montrose	Walter	V	Dies = L III 66, lot 73; BH 149. Obv. = B. figs. 127–30. Rev. = B. fig. 120.
131A	IIId	Dun	Walter	V	Obv. = L IV 55, lot 729; BH 88. Obv. link with Glasgow.
132	IIId	—	Aleter	V	Obv. = B. fig. 134A (link with Edinburgh). Rev. = L IV 58, lot 730; BH 91. Names Alex and Walter mixed.
133, 133A	IIId	St. Andrews	Thomas	V	Obv. die = B. fig. 133B and L IV 5, lot 77; BH 187.
133B	IIId	—	—	V	Obv. = B. figs. 133, 133A.
134	IIId	Edinburgh	Alex	V	Dies = L III 13, lot 58; BH 96. Obv. link with <i>Dun</i> .
134A	IIId	—	—	V	Obv. = B. fig. 132 (link with <i>Dun</i>). Rev. = L III 10, lot 58; BH 93.
134B	IIId	—	—	V	Obv. = L IV 58, lot 730; BH 91. Rev. = L III 14, lot 731; BH 97.
135	IIId	Aberdeen	Alex	V	Obv. = B. fig. 136. Rev. = B. fig. 137.
136	IIId	—	Ion	V	Obv. = B. fig. 135 and L II 96, lot 53; BH 51. Rev. = B. fig. 138 and L II 95, lot 52; BH 50.
137	IIId	—	Alex	V	Obv. = B. fig. 138. Rev. = B. fig. 135.
138	IIId	—	Ion	V	Obv. = B. fig. 137. Rev. = B. fig. 136.
139	IIId	Berwick	Will(em)	V	Obv. = L IV 47, lot 728; BH 85.
139A	IIId	—	—	V	Obv. = L IV 31, lot 726; BH 70.
140	IIId	—	Wal(es)	V	Dies = L IV 40, lot 55; BH 79.
140A	IIId	—	Robert	V	Dies = L IV 28, lot 725; BH 67.
140B	IIId	—	—	V	Dies = L IV 27, lot 725; BH 66. 1st X on obv. plain.

APPENDIX I

Some Corrigenda to the Lockett Sale Catalogues, Alexander III Long Voided Cross series

<i>Baldwin cat. no.</i>	<i>Sale lot</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
2	704	Type I (not II)
3	40	Not Baldwin 4
4	705	Type I (not II)
	710–15	Type II (not III)
	718–19	“
22–4	713	The readings are in the order, 22, 23, 24, not 23, 22, 24.
53–8, 199–201	53b, 52b, 723a–c, 53c, 79a, b, 750a	The mint is not Aberdeen but Ayr.
	720–49	Type III (not IV)

<i>Baldwin cat. no.</i>	<i>Sale lot</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
77	727c	The mint is Glasgow (ON G)
86-92	56-7, 729-30	May be Dumfries (on no. 91, see p. 72 n.); Dunbar very unlikely
100	731d	This reverse die-links with coins of Aberdeen, and is probably not of Edinburgh
105-8, 267, 313	59, 62, 732c, 97, 775	Probably Dumfries; certainly not Forres
109-14, 117-18	61a, 63, 64a, b, 65, 732a, b	Probably Forfar; certainly not Forres
115	64c	Adam of Roxburgh (not Forfar)
116	61b	Doubtful mint
140-1, 239	71, 738, 88	Renfrew, not Kinghorn
146	72b	Not Lanark; probably 'Fres' (FR)
148, 240	72c, 89b	Probably not Lanark
156-65	<i>Passim</i>	The moneyer is Ion Cokin, not Corin
209-12	82, 751-3	Ayr; really type III (not V)
213-15	83a, 754a	Type VIII (not V)
229	84	Type VIII (not V); probably Dumfries
230	83f	Apparently a left-facing bust var. of type VII (not V)
231-3	85, 756-7	Type III (not V)
234	?	Apparently not in sale; Lockett photographs pl. IV, 81; same obverse die as Edinburgh nos. 220 and 224. For a die- duplicate see <i>Scottish Mints</i> , pl. XVI, 15b.
251	762c	Moneyer is Arnald, not Walter; same rev. die as B. fig. 95
269, 279	98a, 99	Probably type VIII (not VII)

APPENDIX II

Scottish Long Voided Cross Sterlings in the 1969 Colchester Hoard

ABERDEEN (26)			EDINBURGH (38)			PERTH (64)		
Alexander	II	1	Alex	III	16	Ion	III	2
	III	16		VII	5		VII	5
Andreas	II	2	Nicol	VI	2	Ion Cokin	II	4
	III	1	Wilam	III	2		III	31
Ion	II	3		V	13		VII	14
	III	1				Rainald	VII	1
Rainald	VII	2					VIII	7
			FORFAR (12)					
			Simond	III	4			
			Wilam	III	8			
AYR (12)						RENFREW (4)		
Simon	II	1	FRES (7)			Walter	III	4
	III	11	Walter	III	3			
				VIII	4			
BERWICK (143)						ROXBURGH (65)		
Iohan	VII	7	GLASGOW (17)			Adam	III	24
Robert	I	2	Walter	II	6		VII	9
	III	54		III	11	Andrew	III	24
	VII	6					VII	2
Wales	III	10	INVERNESS (10)			Michel	II	1
Wales Robert	I	1	Gefrei	III	10		VI	2
Walter	VII	1				Wilam	II	1
	VIII	34	KINGHORN (14)					
Willem	III	15	Wilam	III	6	ST. ANDREWS (17)		
	VII	10		VI	8	Thomas	III	16
	VIII	3					IV	1
			LANARK (10)					
			Wilam	II	1	STIRLING (20)		
				III	9	Henri	III	19
DUN (28)							IV	1
'Aleter'	III	4	MONTROSE (1)					
Walter	III	24	Walter	III	1	UNCERTAIN	III	1

TWO FINDS OF EDWARD PENNIES: CAERNARVON (1911) AND GRITTLETON (1903?)

P. WOODHEAD

THE CAERNARVON CASTLE FIND, 1911

THE writer is indebted to the Ministry of Public Building and Works Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments for Wales, for the opportunity of examining and publishing a group of 33 pence of Edward I, II, and III found at Caernarvon Castle in or shortly before 1911.

The circumstances of the discovery were reported by Mr. Edward Roberts in *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 1912 (p. 168) and his note, which is brief, can usefully be repeated verbatim here:

CAERNARVON CASTLE—RECENT 'FINDS'.—By kind permission of Mr. Trowbridge, the courteous local representative of H.M. Office of Works, Mr. Harold Hughes and myself were admitted into the castle on Monday the 16th inst., and were shown the silver coins recently discovered in the Granary Tower. They are 33 in number, and in size somewhat smaller than a present-day shilling. They were found by workmen in the employ of the Office of Works when digging out rubbish accumulations from the vertical shaft of the Garderobe situate at the W. end of the Granary Tower. Adhering together, they lay in pile form at a depth of 34 ft. below the basement of the tower, and 9 ft. below the present level of the moat. If originally enclosed in a bag or purse, no trace of either remained. When first found the pile was 'coated with rust', and when the individual coins were separated, by using a penknife, some were found to have angular edges and to be otherwise defaced and injured. Mr. Trowbridge has removed the rust, and has restored them to a condition that will enable experts to ascertain their date and to decipher with more or less success their obverse and reverse inscriptions. For that purpose they were sent up that day to the British Museum to be examined by a competent authority on coins. At the bottom of the same shaft were found also the following articles:—Two trowels, two lead hammers, door key, dagger, base of an earthenware vessel, bronze buckle, spur, a gudgeon.

Oct. 19, 1911

Edw. Roberts.

Although the coins had, according to Mr. Roberts, been submitted to the British Museum for identification there appears to be no record of numismatic publication at the time. As received by the writer the coins were in individual envelopes with careful transcriptions of the readings on the outside and a suggested attribution on each to one of the first three Edwards. Except for one or two, probably later, notes written on the envelopes in a different hand, there is no indication that any attempt had been made to classify the coins according to Fox.¹

The coins themselves are in generally poor condition, much corroded, and in many cases only partially legible. The fact of their adhering together when first found leaves little room for doubt that they were deposited as a group. However, as might be expected from the location of the find in a centuries-old accumulation of rubbish other single

¹ *BNJ*, vols. vi, vii, ix, and x (1910–14).

coins were found in the same diggings. There is thus the possibility that some coins may have strayed into, or, indeed, out of the find under consideration.

Thirty-one of the 33 coins represent an entirely credible series for a find deposited c. 1317–20. The latest coin in that series is of Fox group XIV and, although the small size of the find will not permit one to give too much weight to the point, the other coins are in reasonable proportions for a find deposited at that date.

The remaining two coins belong to the post-1351 coinage of Edward III (Lawrence¹ pre-treaty series C and D respectively) and point to a deposit date not earlier than 1353. It is quite possible for post-1351 finds to contain a substantial pre-1351 element.² However, had the 33 coins been deposited together in 1353, one might certainly have expected to see at least some of the following features:

a higher proportion of post-1351 coins,
some florin series coins,
some of the later Edward II pence, e.g. post group XIV.

The lack of all these taken together with the fact that the two post-1351 coins are extremely worn and in all probability saw many years of service before being lost makes it difficult to consider that they formed part of the main group of coins as originally deposited. The absence of post-1351 groats and half-groats could be taken as additional evidence in favour of this view.

To sum up, then, the find appears to be a currency deposit of not less than 31 pennies lost by accident c. 1317–20 probably in some fragile container (a purse, perhaps) that held the coins together sufficiently long to prevent their dispersion during the actual loss and afterwards to permit consolidation.

A summary of the find in *Inventory* format could be as follows:

CAERNARVON, Caernarvonshire, 1911

31 AR English pennies. Deposit: c. 1317–20.

Edward I–II—Bury St. Edmunds, xii, 1. Canterbury, iiic, 1; iiig, 1; xc-e 1st crown, 2; xc-e 2nd crown, 1; xib, 4; xiv, 1. Durham, iva, 1; ivb, 1; xc-e 1st crown, moline, 4; xc-e 2nd crown, moline, 1; xiii, crozier, 1. London, iiie, 1; iiig, 2; viia, 1; ixb, 1; xc-e 1st crown, 4; xc-e 2nd crown, 1; xf, 1. Newcastle, ixb/xa, 1.

E. Roberts in *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 1912 (p. 168) and P. Woodhead in *BNJ* . . . Two additional coins, Edward III pence of Lawrence pre-treaty series C (of London) and D (of York) were associated with the find but were considered by Woodhead to be interlopers.

Discovery and disposition: Found adhering together in the rubbish accumulation in the vertical shaft from the Garderobe in the west end of the Granary Tower of Caernarvon Castle. Coins to the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works, Cardiff.

¹ NC, 5th ser., vols. vi, ix, xii, xiii (1926–33).

² Some examples in the *Inventory of British Coin Hoards*, J. D. A. Thompson, 1956, are Beaumont 1884

(no. 38); Durham no. 2, Beach Crest, 1930 (no. 149); Montrave 1877 (no. 272); Oxford 1868 (no. 301).

LIST OF COINS

1. EDWARD I AND II

Mint of Bury St. Edmunds

1	Fox group XII	1	1
---	---------------	---	---

Mint of Canterbury

2	Fox group IIIc	1	
3	IIIg thick waisted S	1	
4-5	Xc-e 1st crown	2	
6	Xc-e 2nd crown	1	
7-10	XIb	4	
11	XIV	1	
		<u>10</u>	10

Mint of Durham

12	Fox group IVa	1	
13	IVb	1	
14-17	Xc-e 1st crown, Bp. Bek	4	
18	Xc-e? crown, Bp. Bek	1	
19	XIII Bp. Kellawe	1	
		<u>8</u>	8

Mint of London

20	Fox group IIIe	1	
21-2	IIIg thick waisted S	2	
23	VIIa	1	
24	IXb	1	
25-8	Xc-e 1st crown	4	
29	Xc-e 2nd crown	1	
30	Xf (broken in two)	1	
		<u>11</u>	11

Mint of Newcastle

31	Fox group IXb/Xa mule	1	1
			<u>31</u>

2. EDWARD III (PROBABLY INTERLOPERS)

Mint of London

32	Lawrence pre-treaty series C	1	1
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Mint of York

33	Lawrence pre-treaty series D	1	1
			<u>33</u>

THE GRITTLETON FIND

Through the good offices of Mr. C. E. Blunt and the kindness of Mr. F. K. Annable, Curator of Devizes Museum, the writer was enabled to examine a small hoard of fifty-one pennies of Edward I and II said to have been found at Grittleton in north-west Wiltshire, not far from Chippenham.

The coins had been submitted to the British Museum for identification by Sir Audley Nield, Bart., in 1903 and preserved with them at the Devizes museum is a letter dated 20 May of that year from the then Keeper of the Department of Coins and Medals, Mr. H. A. Grueber. This suggests a likely deposit date in the bracket 1320-5 and includes

a remark that indicates that the coins may have been found buried. Attached to the letter and augmented by information on the envelopes containing the coins is a list attributing each coin to one or other of the first two Edwards.

Unfortunately any record of the date and circumstances of the discovery of the coins which may have been retained at the British Museum appears to have been amongst records which were destroyed as a result of enemy action during the war. The Nield family seat was at Grittleton and there can be little doubt that the coins were found either on the family's property or nearby, just possibly in the Grittleton church which underwent repairs and alterations late in the nineteenth century.

The Fox classification¹ of Edwardian pence had yet to be published when Mr. Grueber saw the coins and he, in common with apparently nearly every other numismatist of the period, was either unaware of or had totally failed to recognize as essentially correct the classification published by Burns in his *Coinage of Scotland*.² As was only to be expected with so distinguished a numismatist the descriptions of the coins are detailed and accurate; however, the attributions to Edward I or II while adhering to opinions widely held at the time are substantially incorrect in the light of information now available.

The latest coins in the hoard are the XVc of Bury St. Edmunds and the XVc/XVb mule of Canterbury. The Bury coin is the variety with the small wedge punctuation of which a specimen is noted and illustrated in the Knaresborough hoard report.³ If, as seems likely, it is correct to attribute varieties of XVc with punctuation to the end of the series then it seems likely that the Grittleton find was completed within a year or two either way of 1327. The Canterbury coin, clearly at the very beginning of XVc, must be attributed to about the year 1323.

The find is too small to permit any special significance to be given to the presence or absence of any particular variety. It is, perhaps, just worth remarking that while there are two pence of the Berwick mint and two continental sterlings there are no specimens of Irish or Scottish coins. Had the find exactly conformed to the standard proportional pattern for this closure date one might have expected to have found one coin of each.

Since the coins are still accompanied by Mr. Grueber's list and still in his envelopes, it has been felt desirable to include his numbering in the list that follows. Each of his numbers relates to an envelope and when more than one coin is attributed to the same number it means that those coins are in the same envelope and were, in Mr. Grueber's view, duplicates.

LIST OF COINS

<i>Serial no.</i>	<i>No. in Grueber's list</i>			
<i>Mint of Berwick</i>				
1	1	Blunt 4b	1	
2	12	4b no pellet on King's breast	1	
			—	2
<i>Mint of Bury St. Edmunds</i>				
3	11	Fox XVc abbreviation mark after SCI.	1	
			—	1

¹ *BNJ* vi, vii, ix, and x.² Published 1887.³ *BNJ* xxxii (1963), pp. 117-26.

Serial *No. in*
no. *Grueber's*
 list

Mint of Canterbury

4	2	Fox IIIc	1
5	2	IVd	1
6	2	IVe	1
7	7	Xa	1
8-9	3	Xb, variety reads EDWR'R	2
10-12	13	Xc-e, 2nd crown	3
13-15	13, 4, 14	Xc-e, 3rd crown	3
16	4	Xf	1
17-18	4, 14	XIb	2
19	5	XIV	1
20	6	XVc/XVb reads CANTON	1
			<hr/>

17

Mint of Durham

21-2	15	Fox IXb, one of Bishop Bek the other uncertain	2
23	16	Xc-e, 2nd crown	1
			<hr/>

3

Mint of Newcastle

24	21	Fox IXb	1
			<hr/>

1

Mint of London

25	8	Fox IIb	1
26	8	IIIg, early S	1
27-8	8	IIIg, late S	2
29	8	IVa	1
30-1	8	IVb	2
32	8	IVc/IVd	1
33	17	VIIa	1
34	17	VIIIb	1
35	17	IXb	1
36	20	Xa/IXb	1
37	20	Xa	1
38-9	19	Xb, one slightly irregular might be a good imitation	2
40-1	18	Xc-e, 1st crown	2
42	18	Xc-e, 2nd crown	1
43-5	18	Xc-e, 3rd crown	3
46	18	XIa	1
47-8	9, 10	XIb	2
49	10	Imitation of XIb	1
			<hr/>

25

Continental Sterlings

County of Luxembourg

50	22	John the Blind, 1305-40	1
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County of Porcien

51	23	Gaucher de Chatillon, 1303-29, mint of Yves	1
			<hr/>

Total:

$$\frac{2}{51}$$

A summary of the hoard in the *Inventory* format is as follows:

GRITTLETON, Wilts. in or before 1903.

51 Æ English and Foreign. Deposit: c. 1327.

ENGLAND (49 pennies):

Edward I pennies—Berwick, Blunt cl. 4a, 1; 4b, 1. Canterbury, Fox cl. iiic, 1; ivd, 1; ive, 1; xa, 1; xb variety reading EDWR'R', 2; xc-e, 2nd crown, 3; xc-e, 3rd crown, 3; xf, 1. Durham, ixb one of Bek, one uncertain, 2; xc-e, 2nd crown, 1. Newcastle, ixb, 1. London, iib, 1; iiig, 3; iva, 1; ivb, 2; ivc/ivd, 1; viia, 1; viii, 1; ixb, 1; xa/ixb, 1; xa, 1; xb, 2; xc-e, 1st crown, 2; xc-e, 2nd crown, 1; xc-e, 3rd crown, 3.

Edward II pennies—Bury St. Edmunds, Fox cl. xvc, 1. Canterbury, xib, 2; xiv, 1; xvc/xvb, 1; . London, xia, 1; xib, 2; imitation of xib, 1.

FOREIGN (2 sterlings):

Luxembourg, John the Blind. 1305–40, 1. Porcien, Gaucher de Chatillon, 1303–29, mint of Yves, 1.

Discovery and disposition: Probably found in the neighbourhood of Grittleton, Wilts. Coins preserved in the Devizes museum together with notes made by Mr. Gruber when they were shown to him in 1903.

AN EARLY FOURTEENTH-CENTURY COIN HOARD FROM THE CO. ROSCOMMON

MICHAEL DOLLEY AND MICHAEL K. MURPHY

IN June 1969 there came to light at Carns near Carnfree, the inauguration place of the O'Connor kings of Connacht, a little to the east of Tulsk in the Co. Roscommon, a surface-scatter of exactly 160 coins of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. An unusually dry summer had resulted in marked abrasion of the topsoil by cattle gathering at a shelter-belt at the foot of the mound—an Irish parallel is afforded, of course, by the circumstances of the discovery in 1942 of the celebrated hoard from Corofin in the Co. Clare.¹ There was no trace of a crock or of any metal vessel, but even the quite exceptionally calcareous nature of the soil at this place would seem insufficient of itself to explain the very high degree of preservation of so many of the coins, and it must appear more than probable that they had been hidden away in the first place in a container of some sort, be it of cloth, leather, wood, or horn,² which had disintegrated only very shortly before the exposure and recovery of the contents. The 160 coins, all silver pennies, eventually reached the National Museum of Ireland, and aroused more than ordinary interest because they suggested that the hoard as concealed might have been the round sum of a mark by tale. Unfortunately a few more pieces have since come to light, though the possibility still exists that we are dealing with a mark by weight and not by tale. Evidence exists in plenty to show that the native Irish as well as the Anglo-Irish were familiar with the mark of silver as a monetary unit.³

In the listing of the hoard that follows and which appears by kind permission of Mr. John Teahan, M.A., Keeper of the Art and Industrial Division of the National Museum, the coins are described under reigns and mints according to the classifications proposed by Dolley⁴ for the Anglo-Irish element, by Blunt⁵ and by the Fox brothers⁶ for the English coins of Berwick and of the other English mints respectively, by Burns⁷ for the Scottish element, and finally by Chautard⁸ for the solitary sterling from the Continent. The weights were obtained in grammes to four places of decimals on the portable semi-automatic balance belonging to the Ulster Museum, and have since been converted to their troy equivalents. A circumstance to be stressed, we feel, is that the great majority of the coins had not so much as tarnished, a factor which may go part of the way to

¹ *BNJ* xxxiv (1965), pp. 98–103.

² Mr. W. A. Seaby, F.S.A., has been kind enough to point out to us the importance of rams' and cows' horns as receptacles for coin-hoards throughout the Middle Ages, and cites later fourteenth-century examples from Castle Enigan (Co. Down) and Knockagh, Monkstown (Co. Antrim) as well as earlier precedents from Kirk Maughold (Isle of Man) and Caldale (Orkney). A late Tudor example actually from the Co. Roscommon is the pre-1895 find from Cloncanny Bog (*infra*, p. 89, n. 6), and there is another of the same date from Cloonfad just over the mearing with the Co. Mayo which came to light in

1887 (RIA Antiq. Committee MS. minute-books, vii, p. 26).

³ *Eigse*, xii. 3 (1968), pp. 173–6.

⁴ *PRIA* 66c, 3 (1968), pp. 235–97.

⁵ *NC* 1931, pp. 28–52.

⁶ Now made most conveniently available in J. J. North's excellent but curiously neglected little monograph, *The Coinages of Edward I and II* (London, 1968).

⁷ E. Burns, *The Coinage of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1887).

⁸ J. Chautard, *Imitations des monnaies au type esterlin frappées en Europe pendant les XIII^e et XIV^e siècles* (Nancy, 1871).

explaining the unusually high average weight. One of the coins is broken, probably quite recently, and a few are slightly chipped, but most of the pieces certainly would not disgrace the most selective of cabinets.

The list of the hoard runs as follows:

		IRELAND			
		EDWARD I			
<i>Dublin</i>	Dolley class	I	18·8		
		II	21·7		
		VI	22·1, 21·8	4	
<i>Waterford</i>	Dolley class	II	22·0, 21·0	2	6
		ENGLAND			
		EDWARD I			
<i>Berwick</i>	Blunt class	IIIb	22·3	1	
<i>Bristol</i>	Fox class	II	21·2, 20·6		
		IIIb	20·8		
		IIIg	22·2		
		IXb	20·4	5	
<i>Bury St. Edmunds</i>	Fox class	IXb	22·1		
		Xb	21·8, 20·9	3	
<i>Canterbury</i>	Fox class	IIIb	20·7		
		IIIc	21·6, 21·1, 20·7, 20·3		
		IIId	21·2, 20·8		
		IIIg	20·7		
		IVa	20·4		
		IVc	22·3, 21·8, 20·7		
		IVd	21·0		
		IVe	20·8		
		IXb	21·5 (2)†, 21·4		
		Xa	21·1		
		Xb	22·3, 21·5, 21·2 (2), 21·0, 20·9, 20·3*	25	
<i>Chester</i>	Fox class	Ixb	20·7	1	
<i>Exeter</i>	Fox class	IXb	21·6, 21·3	2	
<i>London</i>	Fox class	Ic	20·3		
		II	22·1, 21·3, 21·1 (2), 21·0 (2), 20·6, 20·4, 19·8		
		IIIc	21·2*, 20·9, 19·6, 17·5		
		IIId	21·8, 21·4, 20·8, 20·3, 17·8		
		IIIf	22·1, 21·1 (2), 18·1		
		IIIg	22·2, 20·7		
		IVa	21·2, 21·1, 20·4		
		IVb	21·3, 21·1, 19·1		
		IVc	21·6, 21·4, 20·9, 20·8		
		IVd	22·4, 21·4, 20·9, 19·9		
		IVe	21·3 (2), 21·2		
		VIIb	21·1		

* Chipped.

† 1 chipped.

A firm *terminus post quem* for this most interesting hoard is afforded by the presence of the Bury St. Edmunds and Canterbury pennies of Fox class XVb, and the more so since they are supported by two class XVa pennies of London, and by class XIII and XIV coins in appropriate proportion. A fairly exact dating of class XVb can be arrived at on the basis of recent and authoritative discussion of the chronology of class XVa by Mr. Peter Woodhead and Mr. B. H. I. H. Stewart,¹ and it seems impossible to place the concealment of the Carns hoard earlier than c. 1321, and even as early as this only on the assumption that the latest of the English coins had been brought over to Ireland immediately after they had been put into currency. A date of deposit somewhere around 1325 would seem a more realistic estimate, but the task of the numismatist is made more difficult by the circumstance that there is a certain amount of evidence that the flow of English coin into Ireland very largely dried up with the second quarter of the fourteenth century.² In theory at least, the Carns hoard could have been buried quite a few years after c. 1325, the absence of the relatively rare coins of class XVc and of the extremely rare—at least in Irish contexts—coins of class XVd being of no significance. For some little time now, Irish numismatists have begun to suspect that hoards composed entirely of coins of Edward I and Edward II may in some cases have been concealed as late as the second half of the fourteenth century, a whole quarter of a century, that is, after the issue of the latest coin, and at least two attempts have been made to devise formulae which could translate suspicion into probability if not into strict proof.

The first of these formulae amounts to a broad analysis of the content of individual hoards in an attempt to determine whether the proportion in which coins of the different mints occur affords any clue to the date of concealment, the theory behind the approach being grounded on the observation that not all mints were open throughout the period under review, while output at each and every one, even when they were open, could and did fluctuate within very wide limits. The formula has been described in detail in a recent fascicle of the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*,³ and by means of it the pattern of the Carns hoard can be expressed thus:

L/C	L/D	L/Bu	L/Br	L/Be
2+	28+	14+	17+	87

Disappointingly there is no 'match' at all with the patterns presented by other finds from these islands, and all that is really highlighted is the curiously small number of coins of the mint of Durham. On the other hand, this failure to 'match' is something that should surely be pondered, and it could suggest that the composition of the Carns hoard is in some way extraordinary. If this once be accepted, there is room perhaps for the germ of a suspicion that the Carns hoard could be a mark payment made up out of coin from two distinct sources, money actually in circulation at the time of the concealment and older money brought out for the purpose from some reserve.

A second line of approach involves detailed metrological analysis of the hoard, and at this point it may be observed that Irish students are disturbed by a failure to supply details of individual weights that is characteristic of some but not all hoard-reports emanating from institutions fortunate enough to be equipped with fully automatic balances. Comparative material is essential, and one cannot have too much. The formula

¹ *BNJ* xxxv (1966), pp. 128–47.

² *SCMB* 1968, pp. 161–6.

³ *Supra*, p. 84, n. 4.

which has been suggested as appropriate for the determination of the approximate date of concealment of fourteenth-century Irish hoards was set out a year or two back in a paper published in *Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin*,¹ and assumes that a normal sterling will lose on average one grain for every two decades that the coin is in currency. Disconcertingly the application of the formula to the Carns hoard throws up a seemingly nonsensical result. The date of concealment it appears to postulate is one *c.* 1305, a date, that is, more than fifteen years earlier than the earliest possible date for the striking of the latest of the individual coins. Again, though, the negative result is not without value if it has generated suspicion that there is something exceptional where the composition of the Carns hoard is concerned.

Two tried formulae, then, appear to have broken down when applied to this new hoard from Ireland, and this despite the fact that they have proved efficacious in the case of other hoards of the same period, and the student can only step back and consider anew whether or not the content of the Carns hoard is typical. Such reconsideration cannot afford to continue to ignore two factors which it is easy to overlook. The first of these concerns the condition of the pre-1285 coins which generally will be found to evidence remarkably little wear, a phenomenon which is amply—and less subjectively—corroborated by the coins' relatively high weight. The second factor concerns the number of these pre-1285 coins. It is a remarkable fact that 40 per cent of the coins in the Carn hoard appear to have been more than forty years old at the time that they were hidden, and if it had not been for the fact that the coins recovered to date amount so nearly to the round sum of a mark by weight if not by tale, one might very well have asked whether or not it were possible for the abrasion of the find-spot to have brought to light coins from two distinct hoards. This figure of 40 per cent, incidentally, merits comparison with figures supplied by some other hoards of approximately the same period. We may begin with the two parcels from Neath Abbey² which appear to have been money in circulation and to have been concealed late in the autumn of 1326, and here the corresponding figures are 25 per cent and 28 per cent of the totals. For practical purposes, too, the Edward I and Edward II sterling element in the great Montrave hoard³ from Scotland may be treated as a hoard within a hoard, and again, but this time on the basis of well over 8,000 coins, the figure for pre-1285 coins is in the region of 28 per cent of the whole. The recent Renfrew hoard⁴ also from Scotland is to be disregarded since there has already been postulated with great plausibility an amalgam of two hoards very similar to that which is now being suggested for the new find from Carns, and it would seem very likely that the Bootham find⁵ from York likewise was put together out of coins from two sources. On the other hand, the Knaresborough hoard⁶ also from Yorkshire does seem to be a sample of coin actually in currency at the beginning of the reign of Edward III, and here the proportion of pre-1285 coins falls below 20 per cent.

What seems very clear is that almost all of the anomalous or discrepant features of the Carns hoard vanish if we are prepared to accept the hypothesis that *c.* 1325 there was committed to the soil a mark in silver made up for the occasion out of coins from two distinct sources. Brought together for this purpose would have been a sizeable

¹ *Supra*, p. 87, n. 2.

² *BNJ* xxviii. ii (1956), pp. 294–8 and iii (1957), pp. 555–9.

³ *BNJ* xxxi (1962), pp. 80–7.

⁴ *BNJ* xxxv (1966), pp. 128–47.

⁵ *BNJ* xxvii. iii (1954), pp. 281–93.

⁶ *BNJ* xxxii (1963), pp. 117–26.

number of coins hoarded since the last years of the preceding century, and a considerably larger number of coins taken out of currency. If we accept 30 per cent of pre-1285 coins as a rough norm for a currency hoard from the 1320s, then the probability is that the proportion of coins brought out from a safe place and added to those taken out of circulation was of the order of one to two, a calculation that may seem to be borne out by a consideration of the pattern of the Montrave hoard where coins certainly of Edward II, i.e. of Fox classes XIa–XVc, constitute approximately a fifth of the English sterling element in the find. On this analogy, the hoarded pre-1285 element where the Carns find is concerned, would not have exceeded sixty coins, and it is our suspicion that it was more probably in the region of forty, a total, however, that is more than sufficient to account for the number of really choice pennies of Fox classes III and IV that are such a feature of the new discovery.

Medieval coin-hoards from the Co. Roscommon are not all that common, and still the most sensational is the as yet unpublished 1941 find from Drummercool, just to the west of the Shannon, a hoard which seems to have been occasioned by the spectacular rout of the Englishry at Athankip in 1271.¹ It could well be, though, that the new find from Carns is not the only Co. Roscommon hoard to be composed predominantly of English pence of Edward I and Edward II. In one of the early volumes of the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*,² there is a tantalizing reference to an assemblage of coins and other objects brought to light in 1851 as a result of a drainage scheme on a crannog in the lake of Cloonfinlough a few miles to the west of Strokestown. The key passage runs as follows: 'one coin of the Emperor Hadrian: one bulla, Pope Paul V.: sundry silver coins, most of them Edwards, and one so late as James, 1690, and one silver coin unfigured in any collection that I have seen.' The probability is that we have here a second hoard of the same general type as that from Carns, albeit one on a much smaller scale, and it remains for us to speculate briefly on the events which could have resulted in such parcels of money being committed to the soil in what is now the Co. Roscommon during the second quarter of the fourteenth century—for our next coin-hoards from this county we have to come down to the second half of the reign of Elizabeth with its minor finds from Lough Ackrick,³ from Cuilleenoolagh near Ballyforan,⁴ from a townland just east of Roscommon Town,⁵ and from Cloncanny Bog on the Co. Galway mearing near Creggs.⁶

Unfortunately for this purpose, the *Annals of Loch Cé*⁷ exhibit a lacuna at precisely this juncture,⁸ but the parallel *Annals of Connacht*⁹ spell out in fair detail the sorry tale which begins with the inauguration of Fedlimid mac Aeda meic Eógain actually at Carns in 1310,¹⁰ and the counter-inauguration at the same spot in 1315 of the rival

¹ Cf. *BNJ* xxvii, ii (1953), p. 214. Scrutiny of the actual coins and a visit to the find-spot have convinced one of the present writers (M. D.) that the hoard was concealed during or immediately after the battle, and suggested to him that the 'lost' castle of Athankip may well lie under the modern Carrick-on-Shannon.

² *PRIA* v. ii (1852), pp. 208–14—the passage quoted will be found on p. 210.

³ *Numismatic Society of Ireland Occasional Papers* 5–9 (1968), pp. 1–3.

⁴ *BNJ* xxviii, iii (1957), p. 594 in turn basing itself

on *BNJ* xxvii, ii (1953), p. 214. One of the present writers (M. D.) has listed the coins, and early publication is promised.

⁵ Unpublished—information in possession of one of the present writers (M. K. M.).

⁶ *JRSAI* xxv (1895), p. 230.

⁷ W. M. Hennessy, *The Annals of Loch Cé* (2 vols., London, 1871).

⁸ *Ibid.* i, p. xiv, etc.

⁹ A. M. Freeman, *Annala Connacht: The Annals of Connacht* (Dublin, 1944).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 222 and 223.

claimant Ruaidri mac Cathail Ruaid.¹ The deaths of both the protagonists in the following year brought no respite from these internecine feudings, and the 1320s are studded with O'Connor reverses which range from the death of Cathal mac Domnaill meic Taig in 1324² to the wounding of Toirrdelbach mac Aeda meic Eógain in 1330.³ To these military disasters were added purely natural calamities,⁴ and it would have been an extremely shrewd observer and reader of the local scene who could have prophesied c. 1325 that minor dissensions among the de Burgo intruders would flare up in the course of the next decade and result in the secession from the English and Anglo-Irish causes of the whole of the Connacht branch of this great Norman family. The more common opinion would have been that the Irishry of what is now the Co. Roscommon could expect from the warring de Burgo lords only more repressions and exactions, and if there is one entry in the *Annals* which could underlie the concealment of our hoard at Carns it is surely one under the year 1328 which Freeman has Englished: 'Walter Burke made a great raid on the Connachta, plundering many of the officers of Toirrdelbach O Conchobair, King of Connacht.'⁵ Patently, though, it cannot be pretended that this is anything more than one likely occasion for the concealment of the coins in question, and there remains the greater probability that we do not know, and probably never will know, why this sum of apparently one mark should have been buried c. 1325, or perhaps a little later, at the very foot of the great inauguration mound of the O'Connors.

In conclusion it may be found useful to have a summary of the find in slightly modified *Inventory* format:

CARNS, nr. Carnfree, Co. Roscommon, June 1969.

165 Æ English, Anglo-Irish, Scottish, and Continental.

Deposit: c. 1325.

ENGLAND (155 pennies). Edward I—*Berwick*: Blunt cl. iiiia, 1. *Bristol*: Fox cl. ii, 2; iii, 2; ix, 1. *Bury St. Edmunds*: Fox cl. ix, 1; xb, 2. *Canterbury*: Fox cl. iii, 8; iv, 6; ix, 3; xa and b, 8. *Chester*: Fox cl. ix, 1. *Exeter*: Fox cl. ix, 2. *London*: Fox cl. i, 1; ii, 9; iii, 15; iv, 17; vi, 1; vii, 1; viii, 1; ix, 10; x/ix, 1; xa and b, 7. *Newcastle*: Fox cl. ix, 2. *York* (regal): Fox cl. iii, 3.

Edward I or Edward II—*Bury St. Edmunds*: Fox cl. xc-f, 1. *Canterbury*: Fox cl. xc-f, 16. *Durham* (all Bishop Bek): Fox cl. xc-f, 3. *London*: Fox cl. xc-f, 11. Edward II—*Bury St. Edmunds*: Fox cl. xi, 1; xvb, 1. *Canterbury*: Fox cl. xi, 2; xiii, 1; xvb, 1. *London*: Fox cl. xi, 6; xiii, 4; xiv, 1; xva, 2.

IRELAND (6 pennies). Edward I—*Dublin*: Dolley cl. i, 1; ii, 1; vi, 2. *Waterford*: Dolley cl. ii, 2.

SCOTLAND (3 pennies). Alexander III (second coinage)—Burns gp. i, 1; gp. ii, 2.

CONTINENTAL (1 sterling). GELDERLAND. Renaud—*Arnheim*: cf. Chautard, pl. xxxi, 3, 1.

M. Dolley and M. K. Murphy in *BNJ* xxxix (1970), pp. 84–90.

Disposition: the whole hoard passed to the National Museum of Ireland where the great majority of the coins have been retained.

There was no trace of any container.

¹ A. M. Freeman, *Annala Connacht: The Annals of Connacht* (Dublin, 1944), pp. 234 and 235.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 258 and 259.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 268 and 269—accepting Freeman's argument that it was one or more of the king with opposition's followers and not the king with opposition

himself who was slain in fact on this occasion.

⁴ The *Annals* record for example murrains under 1324 and 1325, smallpox under 1327 and both crop-failure and an epidemic (? influenza) under 1328.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 264 and 265.

A HEAVY NOBLE OF HENRY IV FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA

J. D. A. THOMPSON

WHILE searching for new examples of Richard II's gold coinage, I have come upon an interesting fifteenth-century hoard from central Europe; this was found in 1905 at Bratislava in Czechoslovakia (formerly the Hungarian town of Pozsony, once called Pressburg); it was deposited about 1430 and contained 132 pieces—gold florins of Hungary, Germany (Nuremberg) and Burgundy, and Venetian zecchini, together with seven English nobles (five of Edward III, one of Richard II, and the heavy noble of Henry IV to be described).¹

The Bratislava discovery was only briefly reported at the time, but fortunately a list was preserved in the Archives of the Hungarian National Museum at Budapest, which acquired some of the coins. I am greatly indebted to Dr. Istvan Gedai of that institution for sending me details of the hoard and casts of three of the English pieces.

The hoard is not in itself very remarkable, but it is an extremely good illustration of the way in which Northern and Southern currency-standards (represented at their extremities by the English noble of 120 gr., and the Venetian zecchino of 53 gr.) became mixed in the course of trade with the Hanseatic communities of the Baltic, and, moreover, it is one of the few recorded instances of English medieval gold found in Central Europe.²

The Bratislava example of Henry IV's heavy noble is of the London mint, and is unusually high in weight, 120.9 gr. Though double-struck, it is readable in most parts (Pl. X, 7).

Obverse: **hENRIC⁹ DEI⁹ GRAT[?] REX·ANGL·S·FRANC⁹ D⁹ hIB⁹** [Σ omitted; **ANQ?**]

First word divided by the bowsprit; single annulet stops, some broken and others filled in so that they resemble pellets; French arms; four lis (one over three) = Blunt 1; bulwark ornaments, lis, lis, lion, lis, lion, lis; crescent on rudder, with a small lis punched over it at an angle.

Reverse: (i.m. cross-pattée). **hC·AVTEm·TRANSIENS PER·MEDIV·ILLORVM ·
IBTT**

Saltire stops (none after *transiens*, but a die-flaw, consisting of a stroke pointing slightly upwards through the letters S, P, and A. The first quarter of the reverse contains a lis in front of the lion (not *over* the lion's head as it is sometimes described).

¹ *Numismatikai Közlöny*, 1906, p. 139; Hungarian National Museum, *Archives*, 385/1905, Inventory no. 36B/1905-1-7. I cannot find a reference to this hoard in any other periodical.

² English nobles were being exported in considerable numbers to Denmark and other countries in 1411 for trade with the Hansa towns, as noted by

F. A. Walters in *NC* 1905, p. 268; and this is confirmed by hoards and single specimens—mostly of Richard II's coins—found in the Netherlands, France, Germany, and Denmark. Recently Miss Lore Börne of State Museum Coin Cabinet in East Berlin, sent me a photograph of a Richard II noble found in 1869 at Posen (Poznan).

It should be possible to assign this coin to a reasonably accurate place in the sequence of heavy nobles, on the basis of Mr. C. E. Blunt's classification of 1944, and his revised list of 1967.¹

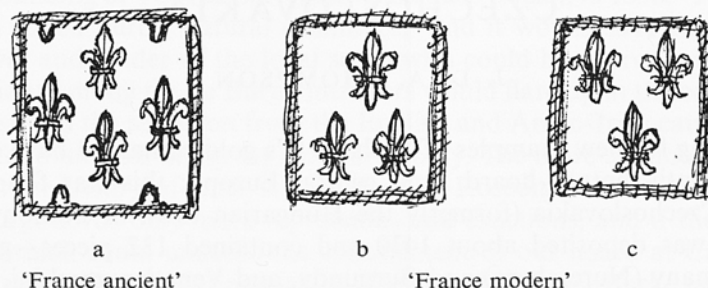


FIG. 1. French arms on Henry IV nobles.

The points to be considered in more detail are these:

(i) The French arms. On the Bratislava noble, these are *semée* of lis (= 'France ancient') covering the latest coins of Richard II and Blunt's types Ia and Ia/II of London (Fig. 1a). The same form was used on types I and III at Calais.

(ii) The obverse legend reading $\text{D}\epsilon\text{I}$ and omitting Σ (early form of *et*). Blunt does not list this particular variety, but it may provisionally be grouped with his coin of type II reading $\text{D}\epsilon\text{I}$ and omitting Σ .

(iii) Broken annulet stops on the obverse. These are only recorded on one other coin (Blunt type II) with a lis on the rudder and French arms c (three lis = 'France modern'), usually said to have been introduced into the French shield in 1400 (Fig. 1 b and c).

(iv) The rudder (Fig. 2a and b): The object punched over the crescent is clearly a lis and not a slipped trefoil. It is placed at an angle, obscuring the left-hand point of the crescent, but part of the centre and the right-hand point are visible. The overstruck mark (2b) is a new feature for all coins of types I and II except one example (2a) in the Ashmolean, which appears to have the lis *above* and not *over* the crescent. This may be an illusion due to wear, but in any case the lis is placed higher and straighter.

(v) The weight: Nobles of types I and II vary from 117 to 120 gr., with a low extreme of 98 gr.; some are of 112 gr., and Blunt suggests that these may belong to Richard Garner's indenture of 1409–11. The Bratislava coin goes to the opposite extreme of 120.9 gr., the highest weight yet recorded for heavy nobles.

From this analysis of details, it is evident that the new coin belongs to the middle or last section of type II. It must come after the coins with a crescent alone on the rudder and French arms 1 (*semée* of four lis), and logically it should come before Blunt's type II with broken annulet stops on the obverse, a lis alone on the rudder and French arms c (three lis: two over one).

¹ C. E. Blunt, 'The Heavy Gold Coinage of Henry IV', in *BNJ* 1941–4, pp. 22–7, with plate (nos. 1–11); 'Unrecorded heavy nobles of Henry IV and

some remarks on that issue', in *BNJ* 1967, pp. 106–13, with pl. xv, nos. 1–2.

This leaves us with two small groups which do not quite fit into the sequence. The first comprises Blunt Ib with a crescent on the rudder and French arms b (three lis: one over two), which is really another form of c and Ib/II, a coin discovered in the City of London in 1966, acquired by the Guildhall Museum, and published by Blunt in 1967 (pl. xv, no. 1). This has a crescent on the rudder and French arms b.



(a)



(b)

FIG. 2. Crescent and lis on rudder.



(a)



(b)

FIG. 3. Lis punches.



Banner of the Percy family with crescent badge.




 = Red.
 = White (silver)
 = Black.

FIG. 4.

Secondly there is the Ashmolean coin (Blunt Ia/II, 1; fig. B), together with another (from the same dies?), sold at Christie's in 1959 on behalf of the Friends of Winchester Cathedral (Blunt Ia/II, 2), both with four lis in the arms and a lis (above?) the crescent on the rudder.¹

There is one more feature which may be a guide to the exact sequence: the Bratislava noble has a 'standard' type of lis punch in the first quarter of its reverse. This punch is well enough formed, but has been a little distorted, partly due to slight imperfections in the cast (Fig. 3b), and it is very different to the thin version with an extra limb (Fig. 3a) which appears on coins of Ia/II and Ib/II (Oxford and Guildhall examples). It looks very much as though the lis was punched over a saltire. The 'standard' lis is used again in type II, and is succeeded by a saltire *behind* the lion in III. This suggests a system of privy marking, possibly connected with trials of the Pyx.

When set out in Blunt's sequence, the heavy nobles of London follow each other approximately in this order.

Ia. Crescent alone on rudder; French arms a; saltire stops; no mark in the reverse.

Ib. Crescent alone on rudder; French arms b; old form of *et* = Σ ; saltire stops; no mark in the reverse.

Ib/II. Crescent alone on rudder; French arms b; saltire stops; lis (? over saltire) *before* lion in 4th quarter.

Ia/II. Crescent and lis; French arms a; saltire stops; lis (? over saltire) *before* lion in the 2nd quarter.

'Ia-1/II' (Bratislava hoard). Crescent over lis: French arms a; old form of *et* = Σ ; broken annulet stops on obv.; 'standard' lis in 1st quarter.

II. Lis alone on rudder; French arms c; broken annulet stops on obv.; 'standard' lis in 2nd quarter.

III. Pellet (?) alone on rudder; French arms c; new form of *et* = Σ ; saltire stops; saltire *behind* lion in 2nd quarter.

Ia and Ib should be the earliest coins because they carry on the Ricardian style, with the single mark of a crescent on the rudder and no mark in their reverses; on the other

¹ The details of this Winchester coin are uncertain: Mr. Blunt was unable to get a cast at the time of the sale.

hand, they show different forms of French arms. As I shall show, this mixture of old and new arms cannot have much significance in view of French practice in the fourteenth century. There may be room for some readjustment in the later sections, but we must put the new Bratislava coin near the end because of the broken stops and the 'standard' lis, which connect it directly with II, and the crescent and lis combination which links it with Ia/II (the Oxford coin; the Winchester Cathedral example cannot be ignored but is not certainly from the same dies). Nor can the Bratislava coin be put any earlier in the heavy series; that is, unless we put Blunt's type III before it. In view of the new and very late form of £ , this does not seem possible.

The obvious conclusion is that heavy nobles, and perhaps others of the 'intermediate' (112 gr.) coinage, were issued concurrently, before and during the crucial period of Richard Garner's indenture of 1409–11. They may indeed have been held back until the introduction of Henry's light coinage after November 1411, a proportion of heavy issues being struck from earlier dies and used for an experimental double or treble standard currency, intended to maintain the prestige of the English noble, while conforming in a limited way to a general lowering of quality in other European countries, in order to facilitate trade.

The mixture of forms in the French arms does not really matter: the French themselves had used *three* lis as early as 1285 (on jetons), and Charles V had officially sanctioned their use on his current coins in 1364, apparently to distinguish his own arms from those of the English claimants who mostly used 'France ancient' (four lis, i.e. *semée* of lis).¹ Richard II used both forms, though four lis is normal. Henry IV seems to have made no change at first, but F. A. Walters noted that Prince Henry used 'France modern' (three lis) in the sixth year of his father's reign (1405),² and F. P. Barnard says that Henry introduced this form into the English shield on his Great Seal of 1406.³ On the other hand, he was still using four lis in 1413.⁴ It is noticeable that most, if not all, of the coins which may belong to Garner's experimental series of 112 gr. have four lis; if it were not for the indiscriminate use of the various types of arms, it might be inferred that the majority of heavy nobles with *semée* of lis were coined between 1399 and 1405–6, and all those with three lis from 1406 to the end of the reign, thus covering the Garner indenture.

The crescent and lis on the obverse of heavy nobles may only be another series of privy marks, but their use does raise certain historical and heraldic questions. The lis itself is usually regarded as entirely 'Lancastrian', but was not commonly associated with that *political* party until the Wars of the Roses, and it was not used as a badge either by John of Gaunt, or his son Henry IV. The latter favoured the swan of the de Bohuns of Hereford, to whom he was related, but his arms as Duke of Lancaster in 1399 included a label of five points (the first two bearing ermine tails, the others lis).⁵

¹ F. P. Barnard, *English Numismatics* (Postgraduate lectures delivered at the Institute of Archaeology, Liverpool University, 1910–12: bound manuscript volumes among the Barnard papers in the Ashmolean archives (*Arch. Ash.* 32)), 1, pp. 275–6; J. Rouyer and E. Huchet, *Histoire du jeton du moyen âge* (Paris, 1858), pp. 45–6.

² F. A. Walters, 'The coinage of Henry IV', in *NC* 1905, p. 253.

³ Barnard, *op. cit.*; T. Willement, *Royal Heraldry:*

The Armorial Insignia of the Kings and Queens of England (London 1821), p. 30. Walters (*op. cit.*, p. 254) thought that the three lis with one above and two below was a form of 'France ancient' (*semée*), but this does not seem likely.

⁴ Willement, *op. cit.*, pl. vii, fig. 1.

⁵ S. T. Aveling (Ed.), *Heraldry, Ancient and Modern* (London, 1898; really an extended and revised version of Boutell's *Heraldry*), p. 28, no. 370.

Similarly, the crescent was not one of Richard II's badges, though he used its partner the rayed sun. The sun and crescent moon (as may be seen on Irish coins of John)¹ was an early Plantagenet device, derived from the Provençal coinage of Raimond VI and VII, Counts of Toulouse (c. 1148–1249), and the crusading Counts of Tripoli;² nor is it certain when, why, or for how long the crescent was adopted by Henry IV. He was using it in 1400 if we can believe the Tudor historians Holinshed and Grafton. They relate a curious story concerning the short-lived rebellion of Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent (son of Richard II's half-brother, Thomas Holland). In 1400 the king was temporarily forced to retire from Windsor, and afterwards Holland went to Sonning and proclaimed that Richard was still alive at Pontefract, and at the head of a great army, and 'to cause his speech the better to be believed, he tooke awaye the King's cognizances from them that ware the same [...] as the collars [of ss] from their necks, and the badges of cressents from the sleeves of the servants of the householde, and throwing them awaie, said that such cognizances were no longer to be borne'.³

It seems from the development of the coinage that Henry appropriated a Ricardian mark, presumably to call attention to his common ancestry with the deposed king, and in order to emphasize his rather dubious claim. Thomas Holland's rebellion was so short (January 1400) that it is unreasonable to suppose that he ever controlled the Tower or any other mint; but it is interesting to see that his shield of arms was three lions passant-guardant with a silver border sometimes containing lis.⁴ Theoretically, he could have overstruck Henrican nobles with the crescent mark as an emergency measure; in practice he had (so far as I know) neither the facilities nor the time to do this.

Two other people used a crescent in their arms, or as a personal badge. One of them was Henry de Beaufort, Bishop (afterwards Cardinal) of Winchester from 1404 to 1447. He bore a quartered English shield with a blue and silver border, and according to one authority, a crescent as his cadency mark.⁵ The other was Henry de Percy, Earl of Northumberland and father of Sir Henry 'Hotspur' Percy. It was the elder Percy, together with Archbishop Arundel of Canterbury, newly returned from exile, who negotiated an agreement between Henry Bolingbroke and Richard II at Conway in 1399, and it was Percy who is thought to have broken his oath and kidnapped Richard between Conway and Flint.⁶ In 1403 the Percies quarrelled with Henry and transferred their allegiance to the Mortimer family (Earls of March), whom they considered to have a better claim to the throne. Their rebellion was checked, but not stopped, by Hotspur's death at Shrewsbury in 1405, and it was finally crushed when Northumberland himself was killed at Bramham Moor in 1408.

One of the Percy banners bore silver crescents mixed with the blue lion, and other badges of related families, while another bore a large silver crescent over alternate red and black stripes (Fig. 4),⁷ and followers of the Percies are known to have possessed livery collars of blue and silver composed of Ps and crescents.⁸

¹ Cf. H. A. Grueber, *Handbook* (1899), pl. lvi, no. 10.

² Poey d'Avant, *Monnaies féodales*, ii, no. 3730 for this general type; G. Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient Latin*, pl. iv, nos. 4, 5, and 6.

³ Barnard, *op. cit.*; Willement, *op. cit.*, both citing Holinshed. The ss collar was an Henrican creation, possibly before his accession.

⁴ Aveling, *op. cit.*, p. 400, no. 481.

⁵ Willement, *op. cit.*

⁶ A. Steel, *Richard II* (1941, reprinted 1962), p. 268.

⁷ F. E. Hulme, *Flags of the World* (N.D.; c. 1887), p. 15 and pl. ii, nos. 12 and 14. Unfortunately no source is given for these illustrations.

⁸ W. St. John Hope, *Heraldry for Craftsmen and Designers* (1929), p. 312 and fig. 186: Bequest of

The 1403–8 rebellions were based almost entirely in Wales and the north, and the same difficulty applies to them: like Holland, the Percies are not likely to have controlled any mint, except perhaps York, and although they had a great deal more time in which to strike coins or to alter Henry's nobles, the crescent-lis issues are so obviously of London style, that this theory is untenable. The overstriking must have been authorized by Henry himself for some unexplained reason, possibly about 1403–5.

FURTHER NOTES ON MR. BLUNT'S LIST OF 1967

(A) Heavy noble of Calais, type IIa, no. 1 (Additional). B.M., ex Walters, 1913. 'Came from France in Feb. 1912 and was probably found there not long before.' I can suggest two possible sources for this coin.

(i) A hoard of 145 gold pieces, found in a grey vase at Coudekerke-Branche near Dunkirk, in March 1911. This find included coins of Louis de Male of Flanders, issues from Brabant, Holland, and the Palatinate, together with one Edward III noble (*Revue Numismatique*, 1912, p. 284, summary report).

(ii) The most probable origin is a gold hoard discovered at Courtrai in 1904. This contained 'about 200' English pieces 'of many varieties', including thirty nobles of Edward III, eighteen unspecified Anglo-Gallic coins, and some gold lions of Flanders (*Bulletin de Numismatique*, 1904, p. 113; *Gazette Numismatique*, May 1905, p. 152; *Revue Suisse de Numismatique*, 1906, p. 319. All short notices without details of individual coins).

(B) Light noble of London. Obverse reads $\text{HRR}\overline{\text{A}}$ and H ; slipped trefoil on ship's hull. Reverse: $\text{HEDIVM}\cdot\text{ILLORV}$; slipped trefoil above (before?) lion in fourth quarter. Weight 108 gr. Ex Dymock (Sotheby 1858), Murchison 77 and Sir John Evans (Duplicates sale); Spink 1911, to A. R. Bayley of Great Malvern. Bequeathed to the Ashmolean in 1948, but found to be missing with the rest of Bayley's English coins, and never recovered. Listed by Bayley in his manuscript slip catalogue, as no. 177 (Ashmolean Archives, 10). This coin was included among the Henry V nobles in Murchison's sale.

(C) Light noble of London. Obverse reads $\text{HRR}\overline{\text{A}}$ and $\overline{\text{A}}$; slipped trefoil on ship's hull and in second quarter of reverse. French arms c (three lis). No weight given. Drabble (i), 94, not illustrated. Probably from the Grantley collection (also not illustrated), and should be of the same group as the Dymock–Evans–Bayley coin; it may even be from the same obverse die, though I cannot see a saltire stop before $\overline{\text{A}}$.

(D) Light noble of London, Details of obverse obscure, but there is an annulet on the ship, and the legend may read $\text{H}\cdot\overline{\text{A}}$.

The reverse may read $\text{HEDIVM}\cdot\text{ILLORVM}$, and there is undoubtedly a slipped trefoil in the first quarter. The h in the centre has a pellet to left. No weight is given.

William Stowe of Ripon to the Shrine of St. Wilfrid in 1430, of his livery [collar] *Anglice cressaunt*. Hope (p. 302) also notes the representation of a blue and silver ss collar encircling a gold star within a silver crescent. This comes from a stained-glass window in

the Chapter House of Wells Cathedral, and is associated with shields of King Henry IV, Thomas, Duke of Clarence (*ob.* 1421), and Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March (*ob.* 1425).

This coin was found in 1968 in the Abbey of Sainte-Trinité de la 'Luizerne', in Normandy, together with forty-three other gold coins, including nobles (and one half-noble) of Henry V and VI, salutes and one angelot of Henry VI, one Burgundian noble of Philip the Bold, and French coins from Charles V to Charles VII. The hoard must have been deposited about 1452, at the time when Charles VII had confiscated the temporal powers of the Abbey for siding with the English.

This hoard was offered for sale by Vinchon of Paris in April 1969.¹

(E) Quarter noble (of light coinage?); Blunt no. 7? Lis above shield and in centre of reverse. Weight not given. Howard Walker sale, Glendining 17.6.42, lot 7 (Not illustrated). Similar to Bruun 372 = Ryan 26?

¹ *Monnaies d'or royales françaises, flamandes et anglaises provenant du trésor découvert en L'Abbaye Sainte-Trinité de la 'Luizerne', Normandie, en 1968* (Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 21 Apr. 1969), lot 27. The photo-

graph of the coin is not good enough for an exact description, but the coin itself looks to be in good state, if a little clipped.

A PATTERN SHILLING IRISH OF MARY TUDOR

MICHAEL DOLLEY

ON 15 July 1815 there was dispersed in the Great Room of the King Street, Covent Garden premises of the London auctioneers King & Lochée, a collection of some 3,500 'ancient and modern' coins and medals.¹ It was a cabinet unusually strong in the Anglo-Irish series, and we find lot 8 described in the printed catalogue as follows:

8 A piece supposed to be a proof for a base shilling of Lady Jane Grey, obv. a rose surrounded with lions and fleurs-de-lis, SI DEVS NOBIS CVM QVIS CONTRA NOS, rev. three crowns, IVSTITIA. VIRTVTVA. REGINA. 1

The coin was bought for the very low price of seven shillings by one Walker who purchased extensively at the sale, and who is probably to be identified with the Thomas Walker whose superb cabinet of Anglo-Irish coins was dispersed at Messrs. Sotheby's sale-rooms on 1 May 1845.² This early description and provenance are critical because they effectively dissociate the coin to be discussed in this note from a group of somewhat later forgeries to which it might well have been thought to belong.³ The coin then vanishes from sight, and it is suggestive of pretty general disbelief in the Lady Jane attribution that it is not given even a mention in the standard works of Ruding⁴ and of Hawkins.⁵ It is no less intriguing that there is not as much as a reference to it in Aquilla Smith's definitive review of Mary's Anglo-Irish coinages which appeared in 1855.⁶ In 1861, however, there was published in the *Numismatic Chronicle* an important note under the initials of the future Sir John Evans.⁷ This both illustrated and described what is undoubtedly the piece described in the sale-catalogue of 1815, but published it as something quite new, though curiously the 1815 'proof' is touched on as though it were a different coin and not the piece under discussion. That the note has been ignored by students of the Anglo-Irish series in this century is not altogether surprising inasmuch as the title Evans gave it was the not very promising, if not indeed downright misleading, 'On an English jetton, or pattern piece'. The note was occasioned by the recent purchase of the specimen by the well-known London coin-dealer William Webster, and it was doubtless with Evans's approbation that the piece was shortly afterwards acquired by the British Museum.⁸

As already remarked, Evans failed to recognize the identity of the Webster piece with the specimen sold in 1815, but the latter clearly underlies the parallel he adduces of 'a forged shilling of Lady Jane Grey, probably fabricated about the close of the last [i.e. the eighteenth] century'.⁹ That Evans's 'English jetton, or pattern piece' and the 1815

¹ Priced sale-catalogue in the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum. The vendor was anonymous.

² *SNC* 1966, p. 127, cf. *JCHAS* lxiii (1968), p. 33.

³ It would be a quarter of a century before English collectors would be plagued by the products of men like Singleton, Emery, and Taylor.

⁴ R. Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage* (3rd edn.,

London, 1840—1st edn., 1817).

⁵ E. Hawkins, *The Silver Coins of England* (3rd edn., London, 1887—1st edn., 1841).

⁶ *JRSAI* iii (1854/5), pp. 357–63.

⁷ *NC* 1861, pp. 109–11.

⁸ Accession number 1861, 9–10–1.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 111.

'proof for a base shilling of Lady Jane Grey' really were one and the same piece seems first to have been remarked in print by the 1885 editors, A. W. (later Sir Wollaston) Franks and H. A. Grueber, of Edward Hawkins's justly censured—and in the event severely censored—work usually cited under the title *Medallic Illustrations of British History*.¹ It is to them that we owe the information that the vendor of 1815 was a Mr. Moore, a British Museum tradition that did not survive the destruction of the Coin Room by bombing in 1941,² and they add the significant details that Mr. Moore was 'an Irish gentleman', and that the piece had been 'found in Ireland'.³ The character of the collection sold is such that neither statement occasions surprise, and it could even be remarked that the attribution of the piece to Lady Jane Grey is just what might have been expected of a West British squireen who was no stranger to 'Boyne water'. It was nicely calculated to appeal to the romantic and the prejudiced, and it must have been a keen disappointment for the imaginative vendor that English common sense was reflected in the price actually fetched in the room. The identity of Mr. Moore has still to be established, but it is possible that he was one of the cadets of the line of the Earls of Drogheda.⁴ Certainly the composition of the collection sold would be entirely consistent with its having been put together by a family resident in North Leinster, while the Boyne Valley still is a happy hunting-ground for a coin-collector with local influence and a longish purse. In 1904 the Moore piece was again illustrated, this time photographically and through the medium of collotype, in connection with the first portfolio of places for the *Medallic Illustrations* prepared under the aegis of B. V. Head,⁵ and its dismissal on this occasion as being most probably a counter effectively secured its subsequent neglect by students of the Irish coin-series. In the present note it is proposed to rehearse a number of arguments which it is hoped will prove cumulatively to be of sufficient cogency to ensure recognition of the piece as an undoubted product of the sixteenth-century Irish mint in the Tower of London. In this connection it may be observed that the British Museum specimen has resolutely remained unique, though there is an electro-type copy in the Royal Irish Academy's cabinet of medals in the National Museum of Ireland,⁶ a circumstance that is perhaps more likely in the case of a pattern than a mere jetton which of its very nature would cry out to be produced in quantity.

Evans confessed a doubt as to which was the obverse and which the reverse, and it would appear that his engraver reversed the true order.⁷ In order that there shall be no ambiguity in the mind of readers of this note, the Moore piece is once more reproduced, this time on the basis of greatly enlarged polaroid photographs of plaster-casts,⁸ the

¹ E. Hawkins, A. W. Franks and H. A. Grueber, *Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland* (2 vols., London, 1885), i, p. 63, no. 3. The work is henceforth cited *MIBH*.

² The Department's copy of the sale-catalogue cited *supra*, p. 98, n. 1 was not so annotated, and until recently the name of Mr. Moore did not figure in its invaluable manuscript index of sale-catalogues.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 63—the source of the information could well have been Hawkins.

⁴ No collector figures, however, in Anne, Countess of Drogheda, *History of the Moore Family* (Belfast, 1902), admittedly a very selective work.

⁵ B. V. Head *et alii*, *Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland: Plates I-X*

(London, 1904), pl. iv, no. 4. The fascicle is henceforth cited *MIBHP*.

⁶ The point of departure for this paper, see *infra*, p. 110, n. 2.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 109. The transposition will be found perpetuated in *MIBH* (p. 63) and *MIBHP* (pl. iv, no. 4).

⁸ For the casts I am indebted to the courtesy of Mr. R. A. G. Carson, M.A., F.S.A. and Mr. K. A. Howes of the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum, and for the photographs to the kindness of Mr. Colin Slack of the Conservation Laboratory attached to the Department of Archaeology at the Queen's University of Belfast.

ordering being that which appears to the author the more convincing, though he would be far from rejecting the possibility that the piece in fact is a 'mule' of two reverses. In support of this arrangement it can be argued that a powerful precedent is afforded by the Anglo-Irish issues of Richard III and Henry VII where the *three-crown* groats in particular admit of no doubt as to the badge of the Irish lordship having to yield precedence to the armorial of England,¹ and this in the heyday of Garret More himself. The primacy



FIG. 1.

of the English motif even where Anglo-Irish coins are concerned may seem to be further evidenced by the actual wording of the 1483 Indenture of Edward IV,² it being immaterial to our present purpose that the document can now be shown to have been allowed to lapse at the king's death without ever having been implemented.³ There is the further consideration that what is here considered the reverse legend of the Moore 'shilling'—*Iustitia Virtutum Regina*⁴ ('Justice, Queen of Virtues')—finds so neatly balanced an analogue in what is undoubtedly the reverse legend of Mary's English groats and Anglo-Irish issues of 1553/4—*Veritas Temporis Filia* ('Truth, Daughter of Time').⁵ The sentiments are from the same stable, though we must not anticipate a later passage in this note, and the grammatical construction and the swing of the language are surely identical. It could be further suggested that the place of honour, which is the obverse by universal convention, should be assigned to the Scriptural verse (Romans 8: 31)—

¹ *Numismatiska Meddelanden*, xxx (1965), pp. 103–12—henceforth cited as *NM*.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 108–11.

³ We may compare the similar but not identical terms of Richard III's proclamation of 18 July 1483 published by Aquilla Smith in *NC* 1881, pp. 310–33.

⁴ The *VIRTUTV* of the 1815 sale-catalogue should not be dismissed as a misprint; the piece under dis-

cussion evidences weak striking at precisely this point of the legend, another indication of its identity with the Moore 'shilling'?

⁵ e.g., North 1960–2: Seaby 1884–6; and for the Irish pieces D & F 224–8; Seaby 4495–9 (excluding 4497A and 4497B which are nineteenth-century forgeries).

Si Deus nobiscum quis contra nos ('If God be with us who against us?') that is also the more substantial of the two legends, while the English rose in the natural order of things takes precedence over the three crowns of the Irish lordship. Granted that among numismatists there has been confusion as to the obverse and reverse of the various crowns and half-crowns of the rose,¹ granted that the resemblance of the 'English' side of the Moore 'shilling' to the reverse of the normal English ryal is close enough to be the subject of valid comment,² and granted that REGINA is an element in a legend that is more proper to an obverse, still in the present instance the weight of the evidence very much inclines to the view that the obverse of the Moore 'shilling' is the side with the Pauline text and Tudor rose, and the reverse that with the secular aphorism and three crowns in pale, the badge—not the arms³—of the fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century lordship—not kingdom⁴—of Ireland.

That the Moore piece is a genuine product of its period seems generally to have been admitted,⁵ and the present writer has no hesitation in endorsing the verdict of authorities as diverse as Webster, Evans, Franks, Grueber, and Head. This authenticity may be thought doubly welcome inasmuch as so preposterous an attribution as that to Lady Jane might have been expected to attach of its very nature to some impudent forgery of the type which deceived too many collectors of Moore's generation. What is not so easily determined is the precise period for which the 'shilling' is authentic, and the virtual unanimity of previous writers could suggest a possible dulling of the critical faculties. Without exception they have favoured a date in the early 1550s, and one is left with the feeling that too little importance has been attached to the consequent anachronism of the reverse type. What needs to be stressed and stressed again is that at least twenty and probably thirty years earlier the crowned harp had replaced the three crowns as the arms and badge of the Irish lordship,⁶ and it should further be noted in this connection that the substitution had antedated Henry's usurpation of the kingdom of Ireland by at least seven years.⁷ Indeed, the most recent suggestion is that the change of arms dates back to the early 1520s when the English king still stood in high favour at Rome, the argument being that an actual Irish harp had been sent by the music-loving Leo X to the reputed royal composer of 'Greensleeves', and was returned by the latter to the land of its origin as part of a propaganda exercise designed to impress on the Irishry and Englishry alike their immediate lord's intimacy with the current successor of the coarb of Peter who had entrusted the Irish lordship to the English crown.⁸ However this may be, it remains a fact that the earliest of the 'coins of the harp' can now be dated no later than 1536 and probably to 1534,⁹ so that on purely heraldic grounds the *terminus post quem non* for the Moore 'shilling' is the early 1530s. Not so readily established is a *terminus ante quem non* for the type of the three crowns, and here discussion could too easily degenerate into *argumenta e silentio* of the most dubious validity. It can be said, though, that the first attested incorporation of the three-crowns

¹ e.g., North 1787–96, 1834–40, and 1867–70: Seaby 1667–82, 1787–92, and 1823 and 1824.

² For this characteristically perceptive observation I am indebted to Mr. W. A. Seaby, F.S.A., F.M.A., of the Ulster Museum.

³ *NM*, p. 111.

⁴ The 'kingdom of Ireland' can be said to date only from Henry VIII's proclamation at Dublin on 19 June 1541, whereas the harp appears on coins that cannot be

later than 1535 and may well be a year or two earlier, cf. *BNJ* xxxviii (1969), pp. 84–108.

⁵ Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 111; *MIBH*, p. 63; *MIBHP*, text facing pl. iv.

⁶ *NSIOP* 10–14 (1970), pp. 1–10.

⁷ *BNJ* xxxviii (1969), p. 87.

⁸ *NSIOP* 10–14 (1970), pp. 2 and 3.

⁹ *BNJ* xxxviii (1969), pp. 87 and 97.

motif into an Anglo-Irish coin-type occurs under Edward IV,¹ albeit the crowns are there very differently disposed, while the recent association with Lambert Simnel of the *three-crown* groats in the name of an Edward² means that the first numismatic deployment of the three crowns in pale belongs no earlier than 1482.³ However, there is no good reason to suppose that the three crowns as the arms and badges of Ireland do not go back in other media at least to the beginning of the fifteenth century,⁴ and what is perhaps a more satisfactory *terminus ante quem non* is provided by the obverse type of the Moore 'shilling'. As Mr. W. A. Seaby has been quick to remark,⁵ the obverse of the piece in question has affinities with the reverse of the English ryal, and it is difficult in consequence to suggest a date for the Moore 'shilling' earlier than 1464. However, purely typological considerations prove to be self-evidently fallacious when pressed to their logical conclusion. It is too easy to overlook the circumstances that the ryal was not struck by Edward IV after 1470, was totally eschewed by Henry VI restored and by Richard III, and was only nominally resurrected under Henry VII, and then with a quite novel reverse.⁶ In other words we are faced with the problem that the obverse type of the Moore 'shilling' argues for a date in the 1460s—or after 1553 when Mary restored the ryal with its traditional reverse⁷—while the reverse type suggests a date not earlier than the 1480s or later than the 1520s. It is a conflict of testimony that must alert any thoughtful student, and it is not good enough to remark it and then ignore what is a very real difficulty. Under a Tudor government heraldic anachronism could have political connotations, and as such would be a perilous pastime.

Already remarked⁸ is the singular unanimity exhibited by earlier writers who assign the Moore piece to the 1550s. The 1815 vendor by implication dated it between 6 and 19 July 1553,⁹ and we are told by Evans that this view was shared by Webster nearly half a century later.¹⁰ Evans himself was a good deal more guarded, but very properly drew attention to the fact that the obverse legend is also found employed as a text or motto set at the head of a pamphlet which was put out by some of Mary's partisans in the summer of 1553.¹¹ His identification of the piece as Marian is shared by Franks and Grueber who finally detached it from the coinage proper and placed it third among the medals of the reign, implying thereby a date not substantially later than 1553.¹² In this century, the attribution to Mary Tudor was not disturbed by Head and his colleagues at the British Museum, though their tentative acceptance of the jetton hypothesis must suggest that they were prepared to allow a rather wider date-bracket than the piece's position on their plate could be thought to indicate.¹³ Such a consensus cannot but impress, and it is the more remarkable inasmuch as the 'shilling' under discussion is regally anonymous. This anonymity, incidentally, might have been supposed to be one of the strongest arguments against instead of in support of the attribution to Lady Jane Grey,¹⁴

¹ D & F 115: Seaby 4404.

² D & F 188-90: Seaby 4426-30A; cf. *NC* 1969, Proceedings, pp. xii and xiii.

³ D & F 176-9: Seaby 4412 and 4413.

⁴ *JRSAI* xcvi (1966), pp. 111-20.

⁵ *Supra*, p. 101, n. 2.

⁶ North 1693: Seaby 1574.

⁷ North 1957: Seaby 1881. ⁸ *Supra*, p. 101.

⁹ *Handbook of British Chronology* (London, 1961), p. 39. The work is henceforth cited *HBC*.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 111.

¹¹ The so-called 'Epistle of Poor Pratte to Gilbert Potter' (London, 1553) which was reprinted on pp. 115-21 of J. G. Nichols, *The Chronicle of Queen Jane etc.* (London, 1850). ¹² *MIBH*, p. 63.

¹³ *MIBHP*, p. iv, no. 4. It heads the series attributed to Mary Tudor.

¹⁴ A suspect claim to the crown will often be accompanied by massive coinage at the earliest possible opportunity, e.g. the proliferation of pennies of Harold II to which the total absence of coins of Eadmund Ironside is in such stark contrast.

and the fact remains that Evans, Franks, Grueber, and Head were numismatists of the very highest reputation, while Webster was a dealer of unusually wide experience whose opinion commanded universal respect. There is some reason to think, too, that Hawkins approved if he did not suggest the dating which they proposed.¹ One cannot dismiss their collective pronouncement as capricious, for all that one may suspect that in this case their interests and even prejudices may have conspired to impede consideration of the full spectrum of possibility. We do well to ask ourselves, therefore, why these exceptionally qualified judges should have assumed so confidently, and even loftily, a date for the Moore 'shilling' no earlier than the middle of the sixteenth century. Part at least of the answer lies in their very familiarity with the coinages of the Tudor period. They knew only too well, for example, that the earliest English—and Anglo-Irish—coins to have legends executed solely in Roman as opposed to Lombardic or Gothic lettering belong to the last years of Henry VIII or to the reign of Edward VI,² and the epigraphy of the Moore piece, after all, is purely Roman. Indeed, and as we shall be seeing, the actual fount can be exactly matched on products of the Irish mint in the Tower which unquestionably were put out under Philip and Mary and in the early part of the reign of Elizabeth,³ say between 1555 and 1560.⁴ It could be thought, too, that the whole fabric of the Moore 'shilling' is redolent of the 1550s, even if issue must be taken with the suggestion that the piece was intended as a jetton and not a pattern. Official jettons of the class postulated form no part of the English, let alone Anglo-Irish, series at this juncture, and there is the further consideration that in the 1550s there was not available in the Tower, and least of all in the Irish mint there, the stock of bullion that would have permitted the mint-master to indulge in this sort of paranumismatic extravagance.⁵

On balance, then, it can be accepted that the Moore 'shilling' really does belong to the 1550s, but it must be stressed that there can be no satisfactory attribution that fails to take into account the glaring anachronism of the reverse type. An argument in support of a date in the 1550s that seems not to have been advanced, however, is the fact that the dating is sufficiently close to the late 1540s for there to be the possibility of some connection with a period when there is known to have been experimentation with obverse legends which might omit both the name and the style of the sovereign, the most obvious examples being afforded by some of the fractional gold of 1549/50 with such obverse legends as *Timor Domini fons vitae*, *Scutum fidei proteget eum*, and *Lucerna pedibus meis verbum tuum*.⁶ Equally it should be remarked that there could be chronological significance in the association of the epigraphy of the Moore 'shilling' with the lettering that is found on the post-1555 products of the Irish mint in the Tower. This mint was the creation of Henry VIII and dated back to the early 1530s.⁷ In 1546 it had been transferred to Bristol,⁸ and shortly afterwards it returned to Dublin. There is, however,

¹ He had retired from the Keepership of Coins and Medals only three or four months previously, but still lived in London and was prominent on the numismatic scene.

² North 1827 and 1828, 1837–40, 1845, 1847 and 1848; note on Seaby, p. 129; cf. D & F 213–23; Seaby 4485–94A.

³ D & F 231–51; Seaby 4500–6.

⁴ The precise date for the termination of Elizabeth's first coinage for Ireland remains to be established, cf.

NSIOP x–xiv (1970), p. 15.

⁵ It is significant that Mary, a would-be *restitutrix monetae* if ever there was one, did not feel able to go beyond a 7-oz. standard for Ireland, and even then was soon forced to revert to a 3-oz. one.

⁶ North 1907–10; Seaby 1826–9.

⁷ *NC* 1949, p. 135, a conclusion generally reinforced and refined by *BNJ* xxxviii (1969), pp. 84–108.

⁸ *NC* 1915, p. 207.

documentary evidence to show that an Irish mint was back in the Tower not later than September 1553,¹ and probably the re-establishment of this mint went back a few weeks before that since it was then in full production. It is unlikely, too, that the Dublin mint functioned later than 1552. The mint-master was dead,² and the outstanding personality, the assayer William Williams who found himself on Mary's accession hopelessly compromised by his intimacy with John Bale,³ seems to have decamped in the summer of 1553 leaving behind him all the tools and clutter of the old Dublin mint.⁴ This must suggest that Mary's new Irish mint in the Tower received entirely new punches, and it is interesting that there is no real identity between the lettering of the Moore 'shilling' and the Philip and Mary coins, on the one hand, and the several 'Roman' founts that had been supplied to Dublin at the end of the 1540s on the other.⁵ It will be objected, of course, that between the early autumn of 1553 and the summer of 1554 the Irish mint in the Tower was using the deliberately archaizing 'Lombardic' or 'Gothic' epigraphy favoured by Mary for her English gold and silver,⁶ but there may well have been a delay of a few weeks in July and August 1553 while the punches for this were being engraved and one must remark the close correspondence between the letter-forms of the Moore 'shilling' and those found on a number of coins of Edward VI struck at all three of the London mints engaged on his English coinages.⁷ Thus, 'Roman' punches could have been at the disposal of the London die-sinkers in the days immediately following Mary's accession on 19 July 1553, and there is the intriguing detail, which seems not before to have been remarked, that Mary's penny Irish, a coin presumptively struck in the early autumn of 1553,⁸ has 'mixed' lettering, some of the letter-forms being 'Lombardic' or 'Gothic' but others 'Roman' and so indicative of access to 'Roman' founts at a time when the archaizing epigraphy was *de rigueur*.⁹ In other words, consideration of the lettering of the Moore piece corroborates the attribution of it to the 1550s that was the unanimous verdict of nineteenth-century expertise at its most favourable.

Such a date-bracket is not without relevance to the further problem of whether the Moore piece is or is not a shilling. That its epigraphy is that of the Irish mint in the Tower must suggest that if a coin it is one that belongs to the Anglo-Irish series, and the weight supports this line of reasoning. Were it a shilling English of the period one might have expected it to tip the scales at somewhere about 96 gr. (6.22 g.), the standard of the post-1550 and pre-1601 shillings English in the names of Edward VI, Philip and Mary, and Elizabeth.¹⁰ In point of fact the Moore piece weighs no more than 82.1 gr. (5.32 g.), and this in itself may be thought a fairly decisive argument against the theory that the piece is 'a proof for a base shilling of Lady Jane Grey'. On the other hand, a weight of this order does accord very neatly with the hypothesis that it is a pattern for a relatively fine shilling Irish from the middle of the sixteenth century. Unfortunately one is ignorant of the precise fineness of the Moore 'shilling' itself—a recent paper may be claimed to have

¹ *BNJ* viii (1911), p. 200.

² *NC* 1915, p. 226.

³ For information in advance of publication concerning this intimacy I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. J. G. Simms of Trinity College, Dublin.

⁴ *BNJ* viii (1911), p. 196.

⁵ D & F 213–23; Seaby 4485–94A.

⁶ D & F 224–8; Seaby 4495–9, cf. North 1956–63: Seaby 1880–7.

⁷ e.g. North 1871–3; Seaby 1795–7—but there is a

wide scatter of relevant pieces over the whole reign.

⁸ Elsewhere in the Anglo-Irish series there is evidence that the fractional coins were struck only at a type's inception.

⁹ Seaby 4499—there are well-known forgeries which probably explain the absence from D & F, but this piece, in the Ulster Museum and approved by Aquilla Smith, seems indubitably genuine.

¹⁰ North, table on p. 173.

demonstrated how little there is to be gained from the determination of the specific gravity of a single piece struck in what may be presumed to be a silver-copper alloy¹—and there is the further problem that a pattern or proof may not be struck to the same standard or even in the same alloy as the planned denomination. Optically, however, the Moore 'shilling' has the appearance of being struck in a relatively fine silver, conceivably the 11-oz. 1-pennyweight English standard of 1550-3 or the 11-oz. one of 1553-60² and certainly no worse than the 7-oz. Irish standard adopted for Mary's coinage for Ireland in 1553/4.³ This might suggest that a reasonably fine coinage was in contemplation, and support for this line of argument comes from the weight. It is very noticeable that at this period 'fine' Anglo-Irish coins are appreciably lighter than their English counterparts, whereas 'base' ones are substantially heavier.⁴ The essential truth of this observation may be verified by reference to so elementary a manual as that of Coffey.⁵ Here are listed, for example, six of the relatively fine 7-oz. shillings Irish of Mary with the dates 1553 and 1554, and the mean weight is a trifle over 85 gr., which could suggest that the standard was no more than 90 gr. and perhaps only 88.⁶ Elizabeth's even finer 9-oz. shillings Irish of 1561 are rare, but four are recorded with a fairly consistent mean weight of 70 gr. which could be thought to indicate a standard of 72 gr.⁷ In marked contrast, the thoroughly base shillings Irish of Philip and Mary struck on a 3-oz. standard have survived in quantity, and a long run of recorded weights amply attest a nominal weight of 144 gr.⁸ What is being said, in short, is that the weight of the Moore 'shilling' is consistent with its being a pattern for a relatively fine shilling Irish from the 1550s.

As already remarked,⁹ the lettering of the Moore piece is 'Roman', whereas that of the 7-oz. coinage for Ireland of 1553/4 is predominantly 'Lombardic' or 'Gothic'. For all this there is one highly significant link between the 'pattern' and the coins actually put in issue, the pyx mark which is in both cases *lis*.¹⁰ The mark was, of course, singularly appropriate for the inception of a coinage in the name of a Mary, and on the basis of it one might well feel that the Moore 'shilling' cannot be earlier than 19 July 1553 or later than 25 July 1554. Certainly the bracket is a close one, but a further suggestion of this note is that it should be capable of being narrowed considerably further. The obvious positions within it come right at the beginning, when experimentation is to be expected and when there would be limited continuity of epigraphy from the 'Roman' founts evidenced by a proportion of the late coins of Edward VI, or at the very close when there would be direct continuity, inside the Irish mint in the Tower, with the lettering found on the Anglo-Irish coins of Philip and Mary. A review of all the evidence suggests that it is the former alternative that is to be preferred.

Mary Tudor reckoned her regnal years from 6 July 1553, the day of her half-brother's death,¹¹ but she was effectively queen of England only from 19 July when her unhappy cousin fell into her power and she was able to assume unchallenged control of the

¹ *BNJ* xxxviii (1969), pp. 97-100.

² North, table on p. 173.

³ *BNJ* viii (1911), p. 195.

⁴ It must not be forgotten that English coins were thought of as commanding a substantial premium when and if imported into Ireland. Had such a piece ever been struck, then, it is doubtful if a 'fine' shilling Irish would or even could have weighed more than two-thirds as much as its English counterpart.

⁵ G. F. Coffey, *Guide to the Collection of Irish*

Antiquities: Anglo Irish Coins (2nd edn., Dublin, 1911).

⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 71 and 72, Mary 1-6.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 75, Second Coinage 1-4.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 73 and 74—the groats may be thought particularly relevant to the discussion.

⁹ *Supra*, p. 103.

¹⁰ In both series the mark occurs after the queen's name and not at the head of the legend.

¹¹ *HBC*, p. 39.

administration. Until then the position of the mints in the Tower was ambiguous in the extreme, and if there had been activity it would have been of a kind designed to proclaim Jane's apparent *fait accompli* to the widest possible audience. After 19 July, on the other hand, Mary's position was reasonably secure, and the mint-personnel at least knew where they stood. The new queen came to the throne an avowed Catholic, while her partisans included many genuinely Catholic as well as a number who now professed a militant Catholicism purely for political advantage. What it is not perhaps very easy for us today to appreciate is that there was at least one serious anomaly in her constitutional position as regards Ireland, an anomaly that she very soon resolved, and characteristically, as a Tudor monarch and not as a dutiful daughter of Holy Mother Church. Technically her father had first held Ireland as a lordship dependent on the Holy See, and it was only in 1541, nearly a decade after the overt breach with Rome, that he had had himself proclaimed king of Ireland, a unilateral usurpation which was in violation of the notorious grant of 1177, itself a strange echo of the purported jurisdiction over the islands of the western ocean that the forged Donation of Constantine had represented that emperor as having conferred upon Pope Sylvester.¹ In strict logic, a Catholic queen of England should have reverted to the style 'lady of Ireland' as soon as possible after her accession—too much significance must not be given to the circumstance that she had been proclaimed 'queen of Ireland' by her partisans inasmuch as on that occasion the titulature had been necessarily identical with that of her predecessor.² It's all too easy to overlook the fact that 'bloody Mary' had also been proclaimed at her accession 'supreme head of the church of England and of the church of Ireland', an embarrassment which for the time being could be as far as possible camouflaged by a discreet '&c' in the royal style, but which was not finally disposed of until the Spanish marriage of 25 July 1554 gave a pretext for a new proclamation two days later.³ As regards her realm of Ireland, on the other hand, the erastian Mary showed herself to be much more 'king Harry's daughter' than her half-sister Elizabeth was ever to be, and it was soon made plain that she had not the least intention of revoking her father's consolidation of royal authority, and the papacy had no alternative but to accept the position with the best grace it could. By the summer of 1554 nobody could have been in the least doubt about her Irish titulature, but in the summer of 1553, on the other hand, some at least of her supporters may have assumed that their Catholic queen would wish to revert to the position as it had been before the breach with Rome. On this telling it seems perfectly possible that an engraver in the Irish mint in the Tower could have anticipated an instruction to eschew the harp emblem that had been introduced by Henry VIII, and an obvious replacement would have been the three crowns in pale that had been the distinctive Irish reverse type under Richard III and Henry VII. Such archaizers were to be disillusioned, but this does not mean that something of this sort cannot have happened, and certainly there seems to have been no other date after 1534 when a reconsideration of the propriety of the harp emblem is feasible, let alone likely. By the summer of 1554 Mary was firmly committed to the harp, while as early as 1557

¹ It is worth noting that as recently as 1467 *Laudabiliter* had been formally invoked by the English Crown as the justification of its Irish lordship—cf. H. F. Berry, *Statute Rolls . . . Ireland . . . Edward IV*, i (Dublin, 1914), p. 436, c. 8.

² It is to be noted, though, that she is styled 'queen of Ireland' on her 'harp' coins that seem to have begun leaving the Irish mint in the Tower no later than September 1553—cf. *BNJ* viii (1911), p. 200.

³ *HBC*, p. 40.

Elizabeth's first coins for Ireland¹ were all too clearly a continuation of those of her predecessor. Yet, the three harps that appear on the coinage of 1561 may be a hint that even in England and a generation after the change to the harp somebody connected with the mint still remembered that the old arms of Ireland had been three crowns.² It is hoped that if this note shall be found to have any merit it will be because it has at least attempted to find a plausible occasion for the resurrection of the reverse type, and as it happens there are other reasons why the first weeks of Mary's reign provide a satisfying context for the Moore 'shilling'.

A feature of the piece in question is the absence from it of Mary's portrait and royal style. The first could readily be explained by uncertainty as to the queen's intentions, and it must not be forgotten that there were Tudor precedents for an Anglo-Irish coinage without portrait.³ It might even be argued, too, that in the summer of 1553 Mary still was not so securely in the saddle that there could not have been some of the mint-officials who yet hesitated prematurely and gratuitously to broadcast their allegiance. Derrick Anthony, we must not forget, had been appointed by Edward VI,⁴ so that there is the intriguing possibility, to put it no higher, that he or one of his colleagues produced a pattern-piece that in a crisis could be represented as a muling of two reverses—as it may well be⁵—each of them being of unexceptionable content where personal allegiance was concerned. In this connection it is worth recalling that Mary was the first queen regnant in English since Matilda, William the Conqueror's granddaughter.⁶ As such she posed to the mint-engravers quite a novel set of problems, and even if there was in fact no discussion of the propriety or otherwise of a woman's portrait appearing on the coinage of England, there would still have to be an element of delay while a suitable likeness was prepared and submitted for her majesty's gracious approval. Since, too, Mary was still nubile, a certain standard of portraiture would be necessary as well as prudent, and it is easy to see that the engraver would have time on his hands for the execution of one or more reverses while awaiting the verdict of the queen. The time-factor, indeed, is something that cannot be left out of the discussion. Mary, as we have seen, was not undisputed mistress of the Tower of London until 19 July 1553, and not until 20 August was she in a position to put her signature to documents authorizing coinages for England and Ireland alike.⁷ Clearly the Irish mint in the Tower acted on these with the greatest possible dispatch since already by 7 October 'harp' coins were figuring in the High Treasurer's accounts.⁸ It is unlikely, therefore, that there was much experimentation in that establishment after the ordinances of 20 August, and we have already seen how the type of the three crowns virtually precludes an attribution to Lady Jane Gray⁹—or, for that matter, to Edward VI.¹⁰ Given that activity was unlikely in the few days immediately following 19 July, the month of August 1553 seems the only plausible bracket for the striking of what is best described as a pattern shilling Irish. It is a curiously narrow dating for a piece that is regally anonymous as well as undated,

¹ D & F 240-6: Seaby 4503 and 4504.

² As late as 1536 the three crowns still figured in the Great Seal of Ireland—cf. *NM*, p. 103, n. 2.

³ D & F 183-7, 191 and 192, 201-12: Seaby 4414-25, 4431-48, 4472-84b.

⁴ *BNJ* viii (1911), pp. 184 and 185.

⁵ *Supra*, p. 100.

⁶ For another most acute observation I am again indebted to Mr. W. A. Seaby.

⁷ *BNJ* viii (1911), pp. 180 and 195.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 195 while p. 200 suggests that coins were being struck in September.

⁹ *Supra*, p. 101.

¹⁰ One wonders, though, to what extent the *REGINA* of the aphorism may have precluded due consideration of the possibility that the piece might have been struck for a king.

but it is hard to see when else this remarkable coin can be slotted into the Anglo-Irish series to which it so patently belongs.

There is one possibility that remains to be considered. Could the Moore 'shilling' be a relatively modern concoction? There is, after all, the passage in Evans's note of 1861 which runs: 'It is certainly very remarkable, as confirmatory of this suggestion, that, on the reverse of a forged shilling of Lady Jane Grey, probably fabricated about the close of the last century, the same motto . . . is to be found . . .'¹ Leaving aside the consideration, though, that Evans had in front of him the coin that has been the subject of this note, and concluded his sentence just quoted with the verdict that it is 'undoubtedly genuine', it would not be too difficult to demonstrate that he was imputing forgery to a piece which he knew of only by repute and had not seen, the process of his reasoning doubtless running on the lines that no genuine coin of Lady Jane Grey ought to exist, and so any piece purporting to be hers must by definition be false. It is an argument that ignores the possibility that a perfectly genuine piece has been mis-attributed, and we have already observed the identity of the 'forged shilling . . . probably fabricated about the close of the last century' and the piece pronounced 'undoubtedly genuine' not just by Evans, but also by Webster, Franks, Grueber, and Head.² The last is a struck piece, and its pedigree takes it back well before Taylor. Moreover, it would be asking too much of coincidence for a late eighteenth-century forger to have hit on the *hapax* legend '*Si Deus nobiscum . . .*' and it then to have been published half a century later as heading a rare pamphlet of precisely the correct date.³ If, on the other hand, the forger knew of that work, surely he would have adduced the coincidence as proof of authenticity when his product began to be questioned, for if anything is certain it is that the Moore 'shilling' was thoroughly discredited as a result of its appearance in the London saleroom. Admittedly the attribution was injudicious, but the price fetched was miserable, and the vendor would have had every reason to vent his wrath on the scoundrel who had fabricated both coin and provenance. The purchaser, too, might have had cause for recrimination, but there is probably significance in the way the 'coin' quietly slipped out of the public eye. The Lady Jane Grey attribution exploded, the piece ceased to have any real attraction, and this would explain the silence of Ruding and of Hawkins. It was no part of their task to condemn what was no longer controversial, still less dangerous.

To sum up. What this note has sought to establish once and for all is that the British Museum's purchase of 1861 was rightly identified by Franks and Grueber as a piece which had passed through the London saleroom in 1815. The coin has in consequence an Irish provenance, and the reverse type has always been recognized as Irish. Advanced in this note is the further suggestion that its weight and fabric are consonant with its identification as a pattern shilling Irish emanating from the Irish mint established by the Tudors in the Tower of London. The denomination and the 'Roman' epigraphy argue for a date no earlier than the late 1540s, and there seems no place for such a coin in the Anglo-Irish series after the late 1550s. The obverse legend is a numismatic *hapax*, but the same text in fact appears at the head of a political tract put out by Mary's partisans in the summer of 1553. For a short time in that very summer it may have seemed to some of Mary's supporters that she would wish to repudiate her father's

¹ Op. cit., p. 111.

² *Supra*, p. 101.

³ The rarity of the 'pistel' can be gathered from the

fact that Nichols printed it from a Harleian transcript and not from an original.

usurpation of the kingdom of Ireland, and against this background the resurrection of the old arms of the Irish lordship must seem quite plausible. For the first time, then, there has been suggested an explanation of the apparently hopeless anachronism of the piece's reverse type, and the writer has little hesitation in claiming that Mr. Moore's 'proof for a base shilling of Lady Jane Grey' in fact is a pattern shilling Irish of Mary Tudor from the first weeks of her reign. What is perhaps a little disquieting, though, is the light that this whole episode sheds on the state of Irish numismatics in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Aquilla Smith does seem to have been consistently and constitutionally reluctant ever to return to a series to which he had once given his masterly mind, and it is perfectly true that his excellent paper on the Irish coins of Mary had appeared in 1855.¹ In 1861 and again in 1885, however, he allowed to go unchallenged English annexation to the English series of a highly relevant coin with an Irish reverse type. Admittedly Evans seems to have been a close friend, but in 1861 both Lindsay² and Sainthill³ were alive and in full possession of their faculties. All three must be presumed to have read the *Numismatic Chronicle* note which declared English a piece with the badge of the Irish lordship dominating the reverse field.⁴ Both Lindsay and Sainthill had had to endure their share of patronizing resentment of their excellence,⁵ and the 1890 obituary notice of Aquilla Smith would describe him as 'a thorough Irishman—Irish of the Irish'.⁶ That all three should have held their peace cannot altogether be attributed to the circumstance that in 1861 the coin's Irish provenance had been overlooked by Evans. At least a factor in their silence would be the undue deference to the opinions of English *confrères* that was not the least of the evil consequences of the Union where the intellectual life of the old Ascendancy was concerned. This deference may well have contained the seeds of its own destruction but it was something new where the Anglo-Irish gentry and professional classes were concerned, and it is a sobering thought that the reaction of James Simon,⁷ a far less sympathetic character, a century earlier would have been very different. This is not to say that the coin would not have left Ireland, but at least Irish numismatists might have been spared the humiliation of witnessing its expropriation to the English series. If the contention of this note is accepted, formally this coin in the English national collection is the oldest Irish pattern to have come down to modern times.⁸ Perhaps, though, that distinction really attaches to some even older pieces of which there are two specimens

¹ In the National Museum of Ireland there is preserved the first draft of the paper which shows that it was substantially complete in 1854.

² John Lindsay, of Cork, died in 1870.

³ Richard Sainthill, of the same city, died in 1871.

⁴ Aquilla Smith was a member of the Numismatic Society of London and so would have received *NC*, while references in Lindsay's and Sainthill's voluminous correspondence show that they exhibited lively interest in the contents of that journal.

⁵ *JCHAS* lxiii (1968), p. 37 discussing *NC* 1844/1845, pp. 37 and 38.

⁶ *Dublin Journal of Medical Science*, lxxxix (1890), p. 476.

⁷ Simon was the author of the classic and still invaluable *Essay towards an Historical Account of Irish Coins* (Dublin, 1749) but figures in none of the stan-

dard biographical works of reference. The manuscript catalogue of his collection (NLI MS. 301, ff. 1-120) is notable for two representations of the English royal arms on successive pages and the inscription 'James Simon, Fellow of the Royal Society, and of the Society of Antiquaries of London; Member of the Physico-Historical Society and of the Society in Dublin for promoting Arts and Manufactures; and of the Society for promoting English protestant Schools in Ireland'. His coins were sold in London at Ford's rooms on 8 December 1757, copies of the printed catalogue being in the British Museum.

⁸ The only systematic listing of Anglo-Irish patterns known to me is in J. Lindsay, *A View of the Coinage of Ireland* (Cork, 1839), p. 130, but it is doubtful if any new revision could flush pieces earlier than the seventeenth century.

in the Royal Irish Academy's cabinet, the King John pennies by a purported Dublin moneyer John,¹ but this problem is one that merits a paper all to itself.²

¹ Coffey, *op. cit.*, p. 9, nos. 1 and 2. The argument is not vitiated by at least one early hoard-provenance.

² Three gentlemen have been most forthcoming with their time and encouragement while I have been collecting the material for this paper, Mr. A. J. H. Gunstone, M.A., F.S.A., Keeper of Archaeology at the Birmingham City Museum, who drew my attention to the electrotypes in the medal cabinets at the National Museum, Mr. S. A. Castle of the Department

of Coins and Medals at the British Museum who has answered a number of inquiries with equal patience and accuracy, and Mr. W. A. Seaby, F.S.A., F.M.A., of the Ulster Museum with whom I have been able to discuss the problem at frequent intervals. It would be unfair to saddle them with all or any of my opinions, but ungracious not to acknowledge publicly their generous assistance.

THE SCOTTISH GOLD AND SILVER COINAGES OF CHARLES I

J. K. R. MURRAY

1. PREFACE

THE main objects of this paper are:

1. To record all the major varieties and as many as possible of the minor ones, of which a considerable number have not previously been published. A list of denominations and varieties is given at the end of the paper.

2. To publish details from the surviving mint register for this reign covering the years 1625–34.¹

I have not attempted to reproduce the comments made either by E. Burns in *The Coinage of Scotland* or by Mr. Ian Stewart in *The Scottish Coinage*, except when this has seemed necessary. Numerous references to both these works will be found in the text. Burns' chapter on the coinage of Charles I in volume II unfortunately contains a number of uncorrected slips of the pen. In particular, the figure numbers given in the text do not always correspond with the coins they are said to illustrate. Burns died when only the first volume had passed through the press, so the remainder of the work lacked his careful supervision.

Of the various public collections of Charles I Scottish coins, that in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, Edinburgh, is outstanding. Nevertheless, collections in other museums and in private hands often contain rare and interesting pieces of which the N.M.A.S. does not have specimens, and these pieces have been incorporated in this paper.

A rough indication of rarity has been given which has been based on my personal observation of coins in museums, private collections, dealers' stocks, and old sale catalogues. Where important varieties are specially rare I have given the provenance of all specimens known to me. An appendix at the end of the paper lists certain coins that were in the stock of Messrs. Baldwin & Sons in 1967 and gives an indication of their comparative rarity.

To some extent I have recorded dies and shown die-links. This has been done with all the gold issues and with the larger denominations of the third coinage. Dies for the 40-penny, and 20-penny pieces of Briot's and Falconer's issues are very numerous and there was considerable cross pairing, so it seemed sufficient to record the varieties of legend and certain other details. It must be stressed that some of the obverse and reverse varieties I have listed for these small denominations may be represented by two or even several closely similar dies.

¹ This register was briefly mentioned by R. W. Cochran-Patrick in 'Note on Some Mint Accounts of the Coinage of Scotland after the Accession of

James VI', *NC* 1879, p. 70, but he inadvertently gives the terminal year as 1636, whereas it should be 1634.

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I am also much obliged to the following for permission to publish coins: the keepers of the Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum; National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland; the Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum; the Royal Scottish Museum; and the University Court of the University of Glasgow.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE TEXT

B. and R. followed by a number are references to coins in E. Burns's *Coinage of Scotland* and A. B. Richardson's *Catalogue of the Scottish Coins in the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh*.

H. followed by a number refers to a coin in the Hunter Coin Cabinet.

R.S.M. is the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh.

Lockett followed by a number refers to the sales of Scottish coins in 1957 and 1960.

As comparatively few of the coins are illustrated in the catalogues, I have relied mainly on the photographs of the whole of Lockett's Scottish collection that were taken at the British Museum before the collection was sold.

LIST OF COINS ILLUSTRATED

Plate II

1. Unit; 1st coinage
2. „ 3rd coinage, Briot's issue
3. „ „ Falconer's issue
4. Double-crown; 1st coinage
5. „ 3rd coinage, Briot's issue (English crown)
6. „ „ „ (Scottish crown)
7. „ „ „ Falconer's issue
8. Britain crown; 1st coinage
9. „ 3rd coinage, Briot's issue (English crown)
10. „ „ „ (Scottish crown)
11. Half-crown; 3rd coinage, Briot's issue (B below the bust)
12. „ „ „ (B on the reverse)

Plate III

13. Thirty-shilling piece; 1st coinage
14. „ 3rd coinage, Briot's issue
15. „ „ intermediate issue
16. „ „ Falconer's 2nd issue
17. „ „ Falconer's anon. issue

- | | | |
|-----|------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 18. | Twelve-shilling piece; 1st coinage | |
| 19. | „ | 3rd coinage, Briot's issue |
| 20. | „ | „ intermediate issue |
| 21. | „ | „ Falconer's 1st issue |
| 22. | „ | „ Falconer's 2nd issue |
| 23. | „ | „ Falconer's anon. issue |

Plate IV

- | | | |
|-----|--|----------------------------|
| 24. | Six-shilling piece; 1st coinage | |
| 25. | „ | 3rd coinage, Briot's issue |
| 26. | „ | „ Falconer's 1st issue |
| 27. | „ | „ Falconer's 2nd issue |
| 28. | „ | „ Falconer's anon. issue |
| 29. | Half-merk; 2nd coinage | |
| 30. | „ | Briot's pattern |
| 31. | „ | 3rd coinage, Briot's issue |
| 32. | Forty-penny piece; 2nd coinage | |
| 33. | „ | Briot's pattern |
| 34. | „ | 3rd coinage, Briot's issue |
| 35. | „ | „ Falconer's 1st issue |
| 36. | Two-shilling piece; 1st coinage | |
| 37. | One-shilling piece; „ | |
| 38. | Twenty-penny piece; 2nd coinage | |
| 39. | „ | Briot's pattern |
| 40. | „ | 3rd coinage, Briot's issue |
| 41. | „ | „ Falconer's 1st issue |
| 42. | „ | „ Falconer's 2nd issue |
| 43. | „ | „ Falconer's anon. issue |
| 44. | Three-shilling piece; 4th coinage | |
| 45. | Two-shilling piece; 4th coinage, Briot obverse | |
| 46. | „ | „ large II |
| 47. | „ | „ small II |

The coins illustrated are from the following collections: British Museum: 1, 5-9, 11, 18, 28, 36, 39, 44, 46, 47. N.M.A.S.: 2-4, 10, 12, 30, 33, 37, 45. The remaining coins are from my collection.

2. INTRODUCTION

During Charles I's reign there were four coinages of gold and silver in Scotland. The third coinage has been divided into the following five issues:

1. Briot's issue.
2. Intermediate issue.
3. Falconer's first issue with F.
4. Falconer's second issue with F.
5. Falconer's anonymous issue.

The table on p. 114 shows the denominations struck in each coinage. An x in brackets denotes that the denomination was struck, but no specimen is known today.

	<i>1st coinage</i> 1625-34(?)	<i>2nd coinage</i> 1636	<i>3rd coinage</i> 1637-41(?)					<i>4th coinage</i> 1642
<i>Gold</i>			1	2	3	4	5	
Unit	x	..	x	..	x	..	..	..
Double-crown	x	..	x	..	x	..	..	..
Britain crown	x	..	x	..	(x)	..	..	..
Thistle crown	(x)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Half-crown	(x)	..	x	..	(x)	..	..	..
<i>Silver</i>								
60s.	x	..	x	..	?	..	..	..
30s.	x	..	x	x	..	x	x	..
12s.	x	..	x	x	x	x	x	..
6s.	x	..	x	..	x	x	x	..
3s.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	x
2s.	x	..	..	..	..	..	..	x
1s.	x	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
6d.	(x)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
6s. 8d.	..	x	x	..	..	..	..	..
40d.	..	x	x	..	x	..	..	..
20d.	..	x	x	..	x	x	x	..

Copper turners, worth twopence Scottish, and pennies were struck in 1629. A further issue of turners and pennies of very light weight, known as 'Stirling' turners, was introduced in 1632 and lasted until 1639. The Stirling turners were demonetized in 1642 and were replaced by issues of heavy turners in 1642, 1644, and 1648.

The coins of the first two coinages were hammered, but in 1637, after Nicholas Briot had been appointed joint mint-master with his son-in-law, John Falconer, the Privy Council¹ gave Briot permission to use machinery to strike all gold and silver issues. Briot's third coinage issue which was entirely machine-made was an enormous improvement on any gold or silver coins previously struck in Scotland. After Briot's departure from Scotland in 1638 there was a rapid falling off from his standard of excellence. Although considerable use was made of Briot's punches for Falconer's third coinage issues, many dies are badly executed and on many specimens parts of the legend are off the flan. In the fourth coinage there was a further deterioration, with poorly produced coins of no artistic merit.

Of the seven silver denominations of Briot's issue, four are based on the English crown/sixpence and three on the Scottish merk. Since the half-merk was worth 6s. 8d., there was little need for both a six-shilling piece and a half-merk, and the latter was not repeated by Falconer. The forty-penny piece also soon disappeared and by the end of the third coinage only the twenty-penny piece survived from the merk series.

It is worth drawing attention to certain small features on third coinage issues.

(a) On some denominations the king wears a Scottish crown (a lis between crosses) and on others an English crown (a cross between lis). On the merk series the crown appropriately is always Scottish, while on the six-shilling pieces it is always English. On the twelve-shillings and on some of Briot's gold denominations both varieties of crown are found.

¹ All references are to the Scottish Privy Council and Scottish Parliament.

(b) In the obverse legends one finds MAG BRIT (or some variation) on most values, but in the merk series SCOT ANG is more normal; some issues of forty-penny, and twenty-penny pieces have both types of legend.

(c) In the obverse legends an ampersand gradually displaces ET.

(d) Many legends are incomplete because the die-sinker misjudged the space needed to insert the full legend on the die. In some cases the legend has been completed or almost completed by using smaller letters from a different fount. A few of Briot's dies are marred in this manner, but these imperfections are more commonly found on Falconer's issues.

3. THE STATE OF THE COINAGE

During Charles's reign two serious monetary problems constantly troubled the Scottish authorities: the perennial shortage of Scottish gold and silver coin and the heavy influx of foreign money, principally dollars, that largely replaced it. The responsibility for this state of affairs was blamed on the merchants. Very early in the reign it was said that the 'kingdome is so spoyled and destitute of money as little or nane is left thairin',¹ and an Act of Parliament of November of 1625 noted that 'one of the chieff causes whilk hes procurit the scarcitie and penurie of moneyis within this kingdome hes proceedit from the importatioun of vnecessair waires whair of the cuntrey standis not in neid and from the exportatioun of the proper moneyis of the kingdome and selling of the same as ordinarie merchandice in forreine cuntreys'.²

Concerning the prevalence of dollars, an Act of Privy Council of 28 July 1631 summed up the difficulty by stating that 'the greit skarsetie of his majesteis proper coyne current within this Kingdome [is] occasiouned by the frequent transport thair of and importing of dollours in place of the same whair with the countrie is now filled and these dollours being of diuerse prints, weyght and fynenesse hes course at the appetite of the receaver and delyverer at higher pryces farre abone [i.e. above] his majesteis awne moneyes'.³ In 1636 it was claimed, doubtless with some exaggeration, 'that there is no moneyes at all current within the kingdome of his majesteis owne proper stampe and coyne, and nothing left bot these dollers at ane high rate'.⁴ By now foreign dollars formed a vital constituent of the Scottish monetary system. The spreading of rumours in 1637 that the values of dollars were to be officially raised emphasized this dependence. Dollars at once disappeared, their owners hoping for a better price, and the ensuing scarcity of coin was so acute that it became necessary to publish a proclamation denying any intention of increasing the values.⁵

Scottish silver money was 11 deniers fine, whereas much of the foreign coin was baser, being 10 or 9 deniers, and in many cases much less fine. The numerous varieties of dollars and other coin caused the greatest confusion, for few could tell their true worth. Various Acts of Privy Council mention many of the pieces by name. Two specially singled out for adverse criticism were the 'dog' and 'Embden' dollars.⁶ The former was only

¹ R. W. Cochran-Patrick, *Records of the Coinage of Scotland*, ii, p. 1. Afterwards cited as *C-P*.

² *C-P* ii, p. 2.

³ *C-P* ii, p. 24.

⁴ *C-P* ii, p. 53.

⁵ *C-P* ii, p. 60.

⁶ *C-P* ii, pp. 14 and 15. The identity of the dog dollar is doubtful, but the latter is the Emden gulden of 28 stüber issued during the reign of Ferdinand II (1619-37). A money-changer's book published in Antwerp in 1633 gives the fineness of the Emden dollar as 7½ deniers.

9 deniers fine with a true worth of 40s., but it was being 'craftilie putt out' at 48s.¹ The Emden dollar, worth 25s. 10d., was being circulated by 'some avaritious and godlesse personis preferring thair awin filthie commoditie and gayne to a good conscience and obedience of the law' at 33s. 4d.²

None of this was new, of course. It had long been the law that Scottish coin must not be exported, and in 1612 an Act of Privy Council had drawn attention both to this and to the great diversity of foreign coin then circulating in Scotland at far higher rates than its real worth.³

Unsatisfactory though the position was as regards gold and silver money, that of the copper coin was no better. In the previous reign there had been issues of copper penny and twopenny pieces in 1597, 1614, and 1623 and, in addition, very considerable quantities of billon money had been struck from 1583 until near the end of the century. Some of the latter seems to have been still in circulation during Charles's reign, for a manuscript account by a man who accompanied the English army to Berwick in 1639 has a conversion table for English and Scottish money which mentions 'bothwells', placks, and 'atchinsons'.⁴ All this small money failed to meet the everyday needs of the people. Penny and twopenny pieces had been ordered in 1625, but none were actually struck. In February 1629 a number of nobles and other persons submitted a petition to the king drawing his attention to the great scarcity of copper coin in Scotland and prayed that a warrant be granted for the coinage of pennies and twopenny pieces for the relief of the poor.⁵ The prayer was speedily answered, for in April an order was given for coining 500 stone weight of copper.⁶

With the issue of Stirling turners during the period 1632-9 the dearth of copper money was replaced by a glut. Mr. Stevenson has calculated that nearly 40 million of these turners must have been officially minted.⁷ This was equivalent to roughly forty coins for every man, woman and child in Scotland. An Act of Privy Council of 12 September 1636 complained of the copper coin that 'the quantitie is become greivous to the subjects'.⁸ In November 1639 complaints were being made not only about the overabundant copper money, but also about counterfeit turners, of which a great quantity had been brought in from abroad.⁹ Foreign copper coin, 'such as holland doys, doubles, and suche other kinde of trashe', was also circulating freely.¹⁰

The demonetization of the Stirling turners in March 1642 changed the flood of copper coin into a famine. Issues of heavy copper turners were made in 1642, 1644 and 1648, but these were quite insufficient to meet the demand. In a supplication of *circa* 1649, Sir John Hope, general of the mint, craved that a warrant be granted for a new copper coinage. He pointed out that the shortage of copper coin caused by decrying the Stirling turners had not been made good by subsequent warrants for coining copper, and although this deficiency was not so apparent in Edinburgh and places nearby, in other

¹ C-P ii, p. 14 also gives the true value of the dog dollar as 46s.

² C-P ii, p. 15.

³ C-P i, p. 221.

⁴ British Museum, Add. MS 28566, fol. 29b. The table is reproduced as Appendix 2 to this paper. Bothwells, of which six were worth one penny sterling, could have been either the twopenny placks of billon struck from 1588 onwards (now generally called hard-

heads) or copper twopenny pieces. The other two were certainly billon coins.

⁵ *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, iii (1629-30), p. 47.

⁶ C-P ii, p. 18.

⁷ R. B. K. Stevenson, 'The "Stirling" Turners of Charles I, 1632-9', *BNJ* 1959, p. 137.

⁸ C-P ii, p. 53.

⁹ C-P ii, p. 66.

¹⁰ C-P ii, p. 41.

parts of the kingdome 'ther is almost nothing to be found bot a comon and generall complaint of the leiges for the skarcity therof'.¹

From the very beginning of the reign much thought had been given to devising measures which might remedy the bad state of the coinage. Proposals were made that the value of Scottish coins be cried up and that foreign coins be cried down or even banned altogether from circulating in Scotland. In November 1625 the Privy Council referred the question to a committee consisting of eight nobles, three bishops, eight lairds, and the representatives of four of the burghs.² Although the committee was required to report by February 1626, there was postponement after postponement. At length, on 16 June 1627, the Privy Council and the old committee admitted defeat and resolved to do nothing.³

In 1630 John Achesoun, general of the mint, put forward a suggestion to melt the basest dollars and convert them into small money; the best of the foreign dollars were to be converted into Scottish money of the weights and fineness laid down in the Acts.⁴ The burghs, as representing principally the merchants who benefited so much from putting the dollars into circulation, did not agree. They declared that 'the countrie is now fullie stored with dollours that it wer not saulfe nor seasounable at this tyme ather to decry or discharge [i.e. forbid] the course of dollours till the countrie wer first supplied with better money'. They suggested that the best course to prevent the further influx of dollars would be to prohibit coal and salt owners from accepting them in exchange for their commodities, a course which the Privy Council adopted.⁵

In 1632 Nicholas Briot made proposals to the Privy Council that were somewhat similar to those of Achesoun.⁶ He suggested that the baser dollars be converted into fourpenny, twopenny, and penny pieces⁷ 10 deniers fine, by which he hoped that they would remain in Scotland and not be exported. He also proposed that 'the best of the rex dollouris' circulating in Scotland should be converted into Scottish money and that the price to be paid for them by the mint should be progressively reduced from 4s. 10d. to 4s. 5d. sterling (58s. to 53s. Scottish). Briot considered that any loss caused by this reduction would fall for the most part upon the rich who possessed most of the foreign money and not upon the poor who possessed the smallest part. These proposals gave rise to a chorus of outraged protest and it seems possible that they were the cause of much of the enmity that subsequently developed towards Briot in Scotland. Although the proposals were not adopted, a few years later the Privy Council did order that no dollar should pass for more than 56s. and shortly afterwards this figure was reduced to 54s.⁸

The most urgent need, recognized by Achesoun and Briot, was for a plentiful supply of small silver money. A petition submitted by the burghs to the Privy Council in 1634 drew attention to this.⁹ They requested that large silver money should cease to be minted for a year or two and that the whole available bullion should be coined into a variety of small silver pieces worth 16d., 20d., 2s., 32d., 3s., 40d., 4s., 5s. 4d., 6s., and 6s. 8d. The petitioners considered that the issues of denominations 'a litle different from the English' would 'make some impediment in the transporting thair of'. The suggestion was

¹ *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, viii (1544-1660), p. 209.

² *C-P ii*, p. 11.

³ *C-P ii*, p. 13.

⁴ *C-P ii*, p. 22.

⁵ *C-P ii*, p. 23.

⁶ *C-P ii*, pp. 32-4 and 80-1.

⁷ That is, 4s., 2s., and 1s. Scottish money.

⁸ *C-P ii*, pp. 48-9 and 53.

⁹ *C-P ii*, pp. 101-2.

not proceeded with. In 1636 Briot was permitted to produce an issue of half-merk, forty-penny, and twenty-penny pieces, but this was small and must have been totally inadequate.

Towards the end of Charles's reign the Privy Council discouraged the circulation of continental money by banning all dollars except those above a certain weight and fineness.¹ The striking of a substantial amount (by Scottish standards) of silver money by Falconer in 1639-41 (345 stone) may have eased, to some extent, the severe shortage of Scottish coin, but so many forty-penny and twenty-penny pieces were being taken out of the country that the supply of small money remained a problem.² The further scanty issue in 1642 of silver two-shilling and three-shilling pieces can have done little to remedy this shortage.³ Thereafter, there were no further issues, except of copper coin, until those of Charles II in 1664.

4. THE COINAGES

FIRST COINAGE, 1625-34 (?) (Burns ii, pp. 441-4 and 480-1; Stewart, p. 105)

Denominations:

Gold: unit, double-crown, Britain crown, thistle crown, and half-crown.

Silver: 60s., 30s., 12s., 6s., 2s., 1s., and 6d.

An Act of Privy Council of 15 April 1625⁴ ordered a new coinage of gold, silver, and copper money and listed the varieties in the following manner: gold—the unit called the double angel, the double-crown called the angel, the Britain crown or three-pound piece called the five-merk piece, the thistle crown called the four-merk piece, and the half-crown called the 2½-merk piece. Silver—the crown called the three-pound piece, the thirty-shilling, twelve-shilling, six-shilling, two-shilling, one-shilling, and half-shilling pieces. Copper—twopenny and one-penny pieces. The denominations, weights, and fineness were identical to those of James VI's post-union issues.

In November 1611 the Privy Council had raised the values of gold coins by 10 per cent, so the Scottish unit, originally £12 Scots and equal to twenty-shillings sterling, became worth £13. 4s., with the other denominations in proportion.⁵ No attempt was made either by James VI or Charles I to issue lighter Scottish gold coins so as to maintain the 12 : 1 ratio between equivalent Scottish and English coins. Hence, since 1611, the Scottish unit had been worth 22 shillings sterling.

Since the Act of 1611 had raised the value of a Britain crown from 60 to 66 shillings Scots, it was not strictly accurate to call it a five-merk piece, as was done in the Act of Privy Council quoted above, because five merks were equal to 66s. 8d. The same was true of the thistle crown and the half-crown. The names five-merk, four-merk, and 2½-merk piece were doubtless adopted because they indicated values close to the actual worth of the coins and so were preferred to crown or half-crown.

In the Scottish Record Office there is a mint register which gives the figures of gold and silver coins struck from 1625 to the end of 1634.⁶ It is not clear whether the first coinage ceased in 1634 or whether the register was continued in another book that has

¹ C-P ii, pp. 68 and 69.

² C-P ii, p. 68.

³ Ruding quotes from the *Parliamentary History* that there was a proposal made in 1653 to reopen the Scottish mint as the only remedy against the extreme

scarcity of money in Scotland (R. Ruding, *Annals*, i, p. 418).

⁴ C-P ii, pp. 8-9.

⁵ C-P i, p. 220.

⁶ Reference E 102/8.

since been lost. No date later than 1634 is known for the six-shilling piece—the only dated coin, but too much weight should not be given to this, since six-shilling pieces of every date, where they are known, are extremely rare. The mint was not in continuous operation and it may be inferred that the quantities of bullion reaching it were too small to allow this. For example, both in 1627 and 1630 there were only five journeys, one for minting gold and four for silver coin.

Gold coinage. Between 1625 and 1634 there were eight journeys for striking gold coins. The following is the journey for 28 July 1625 and it is typical of them all:

Prentit in the saidis vnite peces, double crownis, britane crownis, thrissel crownis, and half crownis of gold Tuelf pund, four once weight.

Thairof in the saidis britane crownis 2 pund 8 once weight

In the saidis thrissel crownis 12 once weight

In the saidis half crownis 7 once 12 deneirs weight

Of the fynnes of 22 carrettis j grane

The essay put in the box.

Light on this journey — xxvs. jd. money.¹

It will be seen that the register gives the individual weights for only the three smallest pieces. The following table shows the amount of gold coined in each of the eight journeys:

	<i>Unit and double-crown</i>			<i>Britain crown</i>			<i>Thistle crown</i>			<i>Half-crown</i>			<i>Total weight</i>		
	<i>lb.</i>	<i>oz.</i>	<i>den.</i>	<i>lb.</i>	<i>oz.</i>	<i>den.</i>	<i>lb.</i>	<i>oz.</i>	<i>den.</i>	<i>lb.</i>	<i>oz.</i>	<i>den.</i>	<i>lb.</i>	<i>oz.</i>	<i>den.</i>
28.7.1625	8	8	12	2	8	0	12	0		7	12		12	4	0
12.11.1625	9	6	18	1	14	0	15	0		6	6		12	10	0
12.7.1626	8	13	12	1	2	0	10	0		8	0		11	1	12
9.5.1627	7	2	0		14	0	5	18		2	6		8	8	0
4.1.1628	7	7	0		12	0	..			..			8	3	0
5.12.1628	7	2	0		10	0	8	0		3	0		8	7	0
29.1.1630	7	13	6		8	6	4	0		2	12		8	12	6
26.7.1631	7	2	12		12	0	4	12		3	0		8	6	0
Total	63	7	12	9	0	6	3	11	6	2	0	12	78	3	12

The total of just under five stone of gold is very small and explains why first coinage gold pieces are so rare today. For comparison, it may be stated that in James VI's reign, during the period of twenty years from February 1605 to March 1625, about 140 stone of gold was coined, giving an average of 7 stone a year. Output of gold coin fell considerably towards the end of James's reign, however, since only 10 st. 14 lb. was coined from April 1622 until James's death.

From the weights given in the above table the approximate numbers of coins struck have been calculated as follows:

	<i>Weight (Scottish)</i>	<i>Number struck</i>	<i>Number of known survivors</i>
Britain crown	47.32 gr.	1,755	2
Thistle crown	37.86 gr.	900	None
Half-crown	23.66 gr.	790	None

¹ The term 'light on this journey' means that the weight of metal coined yielded more coins than expected, because they were fractionally below their

correct standard weight. This gave a gain to the mint of 25s. 1d.

If one assumes that exactly equal numbers of units and double-crowns were struck, the amount of 63 lb. 7 oz. 12 den. would give a figure of approximately 2,060 pieces of each denomination. It is very probable, however, that units were struck in greater numbers than double-crowns, since the former is the least rare denomination today. None of the coins have any indication of value on them. All have a thistle-head as initial-mark on both sides.

Unit. The eleven coins I have been able to examine were from two obverse and three reverse dies. Some particulars of the dies and die combinations will be found in the list of denominations at the end of this paper. It is probably correct to consider the denomination as very rare.

Double-crown. Two obverse and two reverse dies. Six specimens are known to me: B.M. — 2; N.M.A.S. — 2 (B. 2 and R. 99); Lockett sale, 19 June 1957, lot 403 (ex Cochran-Patrick sale, lot 91); and Sotheby's sale, 14 May 1968, lot 8 (now in the writer's collection).

Britain crown. One pair of dies. The only surviving specimens seem to be those in the British Museum and Ashmolean.

Silver coinage. The first silver coins of the reign were minted on 9 June 1625. In no journey were coins of all seven denominations struck, six being the greatest number. The following entry in the register for 28 June 1625 is typical:

Prentit in the saidis 3 pund peces 30/12/6/js. and 6d.
 peces of siluer Sex stane xijj pund weight.
 Thairof in the saidis js peces ane pund ten vnce weight.
 In the saidis 6d peces 12 vnce weight.
 Of the fynnes of xj deneirs.
 The essay put in the box.
 Light on this journey — xxxijs viijd money.

The following table shows the number of journeys in each year in which each denomination was struck and the total weight of eleven-denier silver coined:

	60s.	30s.	12s.	6s.	2s.	1s.	6d.	st.	lb.	oz.
1625	1	7	7	2	6	5	1	42	5	8
1626	..	7	7	4	5	5	..	41	8	6
1627	1	4	4	3	2	2	..	27	8	8
1628	..	8	8	4	4	4	2	64	12	0
1629	1	5	5	3	3	2	..	41	7	0
1630	..	4	4	2	2	2	..	31	1	8
1631	..	9	9	6	6	6	..	65	12	0
1632	..	15	15	12	11	13	3	67	1	6
1633	..	19	19	14	10	5	1	74	14	4
1634	3	12	12	8	10	7	..	46	8	11½
Total								502	15	3½

Sixty-shilling piece. Was struck on six occasions during the period and is now rather rare. Two obverse dies and one reverse die have been noted. On one obverse die the tip of the sword points to the right of the initial-mark and does not reach the inner circle; the only specimens seen are in the writer's collection and that of Mr. Ian Stewart. On the other, the tip of the sword points to the left of the initial-mark and touches the inner circle. On specimens with the second of these two obverses the reverse has been struck when the die was rusty, so these probably belong to the latest (1634) striking.

Thirty-shilling and twelve-shilling pieces were always struck together in every journey and are by far the commonest denominations today. There are numerous die varieties. The initial-mark may be either a small or a large thistle-head, of which the small is evidently the earlier, since a broken P in SEPARET on the thirty-shilling pieces is found only on specimens with a large thistle-head. There are muled coins having a large thistle-head on one side and a small one on the other.¹ On both values the lettering may be large or small, but obverses and reverses commonly have lettering of mixed sizes. For example, the letters C, N, Q, T, and V, or some of them, are often large and the remaining letters small. It seems probable that two founts were made, but little trouble was taken to keep the two sets of punches separate, and broken or missing punches may not have been replaced.

Six-shilling pieces were struck in every year, but are extremely rare. I have not seen any specimens dated 1628 or 1629.

Specimens may be found as under:

1625	B.M., N.M.A.S. (R. 4),	1631	B.M., Ashmolean.
1626	N.M.A.S., Ashmolean, H. 279.	1632	N.M.A.S., H. 280, R.S.M.
1627	B.M.	1633	N.M.A.S. (B. 5, R. 5).
1630	N.M.A.S. (B. 4).	1634	N.M.A.S.

Two-shilling, one-shilling, and sixpenny pieces. The mint register gives the amount of metal used to coin each of the three smallest pieces and from these amounts the approximate numbers struck have been calculated as under:

	<i>Total weight</i>				<i>Approximate numbers struck</i>	<i>Known survivors</i>
	<i>st.</i>	<i>lb.</i>	<i>oz.</i>	<i>den.</i>		
Two-shillings	14	4	1	22	111,100	Very rare
One-shilling	7	0	8	20	109,600	3
Sixpence	..	5	12	12	12,000	None identified

The three one-shilling pieces have been struck from altered dies of James VI, with a 'C' struck over the 'I'.² This feature has not been observed on any two-shilling pieces. Burns knew of only one specimen of the one-shilling piece, two others having come to light since his day.³ The obverse and reverse dies all seem to be different.

It is sometimes erroneously stated that Charles I obverse dies of the larger denominations are altered James VI dies. Burns has shown that this is not the case (p. 441) and points out that in Charles's reign there is 'a very slight change in the portrait on all the coins'. The most obvious difference is that on James's coins the end of the beard is rounded, whereas on Charles's it is pointed.

It must be presumed that Charles's sixpenny pieces were identical to those of James VI, that is, with a rose on the obverse and a thistle on the reverse, since this is the type of the one-shilling and two-shilling pieces. It seems unlikely that the sixpenny pieces resembled the early tower mint halfpennies of Charles I which have a rose on both sides.

¹ All varieties are in the N.M.A.S. Muled 30s.—ref. 1956. 55. Muled 12s.—B. 3 and R. 3. Broken P—B. 2.

² I am indebted to Mr. R. B. K. Stevenson for

drawing my attention to this.

³ Of these one-shilling pieces, one is in the N.M.A.S. (R. 7) and the other two are in private collections.

Denominations: half-merk, forty-penny, and twenty-penny pieces.

On 2 June 1636 the Privy Council ordered all available bullion to be struck in sixteen-penny, thirty-two-penny, and 5s. 4d. pieces.¹ The purpose of this order was to meet the severe shortage of small silver coin and, by striking such awkward denominations, to discourage the export of small money out of Scotland, particularly to England. It was at once objected that such values would also be most inconvenient to Scottish users and that the objects would be better served by striking half-merk, forty-penny, and twenty-penny pieces, all of which had already been issued in Scotland before the union.²

An Act of Privy Council of 23 June 1636 authorized the Lord High Treasurer 'to deale and contract with Nicholas Briot' to convert the bullion 'in suche small peeces as his majestie and the counsell hes commanded', that is, the varieties ordered on 2 June.³ In the meantime wiser counsels prevailed, for on 21 July a further Act, completely disregarding the earlier one, ordered a coinage of half-merk, forty-penny, and twenty-penny pieces, specifying the fineness, weights, and other particulars.⁴ The Act laid down that, of the bullion coined, a fourth part was to be in half-merk pieces, and the remainder was to be divided equally between the two smaller denominations. It was particularly ordered that 'the forme and maner of striking vsed of before in the cunyeous', namely, striking with the hammer, should be used for this new coinage.

No mint records are available. Burns remarks (p. 453) on the small number of dies used in striking these coins. For the half-merk I have seen four obverse and four reverse dies, for the forty-penny three obverse and five reverse dies, and for the twenty-penny two obverses and two reverses, but there may be others. On all values the bust extends to the edge of the coin and there are beaded inner circles. The obverse legend begins at 7 o'clock. There are no initial-marks and none of the values are dated. Both the half-merk and forty-penny pieces are fairly common, but the twenty-penny piece appears to be extremely rare.⁵

Nicholas Briot's pattern milled coinage of 1636 (Burns ii, pp. 454–5; Stewart, p. 106)

Denominations: half-merk, forty-penny, and twenty-penny pieces.

These beautiful patterns are of the greatest rarity. Briot probably made them, as Mr. Ian Stewart suggests, to substantiate his plea to be allowed to introduce machinery into the mint. The half-merk has the date 1636 above the crown on the reverse, but the other two values are without the date. Specimens of the three denominations may be found as under:

Half-merk piece	N.M.A.S. (two varieties—R. 11 and ex Lockett 420), R.S.M.
Forty-penny piece	N.M.A.S. (R. 12).
Twenty-penny piece	B.M., N.M.A.S. (B. 4), H. 281.

¹ *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vi (1635–7), p. 252.

² *C-P* ii, p. 108.

³ *C-P* ii, p. 50.

⁴ *C-P* ii, p. 51.

⁵ The N.M.A.S. has two specimens (B. 3 and R. 10) and is the only public collection in which I have found any. There was no specimen in the Lockett collection.

THIRD COINAGE, 1637-41 (?)

Briot's silver issue (Burns ii, pp. 456-63; Stewart, pp. 106-8)

Denominations: 60s., 30s., 12s., 6s., 6s. 8d., 40d., 20d.

During the second half of 1636 a tussle developed between Briot and the Privy Council concerning the use of machinery for striking the regular silver issues. In June the Privy Council had firmly expressed itself against 'the introduction of anie novelteis in our mynt'¹ and an application by Briot to use his press was again turned down in September.² In November he offered to convert some of the foreign dollars circulating in Scotland into twelve-shilling and six-shilling pieces, provided that he was allowed to 'worke the same be the milne' and the king would dispense with his profit.³ After some deliberation the Privy Council gave way and in an Act of 8 December ordered that for an experimental period of several months, that is, until Whitsunday 1637, money should be wrought by the mill. At the end of this period the Council would continue or forbid its further use 'as they sall find the good or evill thair of to require'.⁴

The Act of 8 December was confirmed by another of 12 January 1637 ordering a new coinage which was to be produced by Briot using the 'milne and presse'.⁵ Charles Dickeson, 'graver of his majesteis yrnes', was to make the dies. For this coinage Briot was to use the available bullion, as well as certain foreign dollars which were 10½ deniers fine or better. The warrant to strike coins up to Whitsunday was confirmed and this period was subsequently extended. Since the warrant cannot now be traced, it is not clear which denominations were ordered. The Act states that Briot was to work and coin the bullion 'in the spesies and according to the proportion conteanit in the former contract past thereanent' between the treasurer and himself. It is also stated in the Act that Dickeson was to make dies 'answerable to the particular spesies' contained in the contract of the late Thomas Acheson. Acheson had been mint-master from 1581 to 1611, so the species ordered seem to have been the same as those for James VI's post-union coinages and for Charles's first coinage, that is, sixty-shillings down to sixpenny pieces. Nevertheless, it would appear that this initial issue was confined to the four denominations of sixty-, thirty-, twelve-, and six-shilling pieces.

On 17 October 1637 an Act of Privy Council ordered Briot and his son-in-law, John Falconer, who had been appointed joint mint-masters in August, to strike a coinage of thirty-shilling, twelve-shilling, half-merk, forty-penny, and twenty-penny pieces, again using the mill and press.⁶ There is no mention in this Act of the sixty-shilling or six-shilling pieces, so possibly these two denominations were struck only during the earlier period.⁷

Most coins have the initial B on both obverse and reverse. The main exception is the twenty-penny piece which always has a B on the reverse, though many varieties do not have it on the obverse. Briot's penchant for lozenges is much in evidence, for they are commonly found as stops and are usually placed in a variety of positions near the value. None of Briot's coins are dated. The practice of dating six-shilling pieces, begun in 1605 when a coin of this value was first introduced in Scotland, was now discontinued.

¹ C-P ii, p. 50.

² C-P ii, p. 54.

³ C-P ii, p. 55.

⁴ *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vi (1635-7), p. 350.

⁵ C-P ii, p. 55-6.

⁶ C-P ii, p. 62.

⁷ See, however, the comments made below concerning Briot's six-shilling pieces.

The dies of the smaller denominations of Briot's and Falconer's issues were often used until they were quite worn out. In many cases the lettering is ragged and broken, enabling one to distinguish between early and late striking.

A comparison between Briot's shillings and sixpences, and his twelve-shilling and six-shilling pieces is not without interest. The shillings have either a lozenge on each side of the value or else a single lozenge to the right of it, whereas on the twelve-shillings there are none. Briot's sixpences and six-shilling pieces are similarly distinguishable—the sixpences having lozenges as on the shillings, whereas six-shilling pieces have them arranged in various ways, but never as on the sixpences.

Sixty-, thirty-, and twelve-shilling pieces. One pair of dies only is believed to have been used for each denomination. All have lozenge stops in the legends. On the twelve-shillings the king wears a Scottish crown. The twelve-shilling piece is fairly common, the others much less so.

Six-shilling piece (scarce). There are four principal types, according to the number and arrangement of lozenges by the value. These have been arbitrarily numbered (i) to (iv). Three types have lozenge stops and one (type ii) has pellet stops. The latter is also the only type to have a plurality of varieties. On these grounds it could well be argued that type (ii) is of a slightly different period to the others. The king's crown is always of the English style.

Half-merk piece (scarce). There are two types, with one or two lozenges by the value, respectively. On all varieties the king has a Scottish crown and there are lozenge stops. Of ten varieties seen, six share one reverse die.

Forty-penny piece (common). Normally has pellet stops on the obverse and lozenges on the reverse. Later varieties have part of the dexter thistle-leaf on the reverse broken away. There are four types, having four, three, two, or no lozenges by the value. All have a Scottish crown on the obverse.

Twenty-penny piece (very common). Always has pellet stops. There are two types, having two or no lozenges by the value. Scottish crown.

Burns (pp. 463 and 465) appears to suggest that varieties of forty-penny and twenty-penny pieces without lozenges by the value may belong to the intermediate issue, but his observations lack precision and are confusing to the reader. He does not dispute, however, that the six-shilling piece without lozenges by the value properly belongs to Briot's issue.¹ In the absence of any definite evidence one way or the other, it seems preferable to regard all coins with an initial B (except the Briot/Falconer mules) as belonging to Briot's issue, whether or not there are lozenges by the value.

Briot's gold issue (Burns ii, pp. 481–4; Stewart, p. 107)

Denominations: unit, double-crown, Britain crown, half-crown.

On 19 October 1637 Briot and Falconer were ordered to strike gold coins from bullion 'brought within this kingdome be the adventurers of Guinee'.² The Act of Privy Council laid down that the denominations and standards were to be the same as those specified in the Act of April 1625. Although thistle crowns are named in the 1625 Act,

¹ B. 8 on p. 460. Fig. 1008 said to illustrate this coin does not do so.

² *C-P* ii, p. 63. A further supply of uncoined gold, to the value of £200 sterling, was supplied to the

Scottish mint by an Edinburgh merchant, Patrick Wood, in Mar. 1638 (Scottish Record Office, ref. E 105/38).

none by Briot are known today and it seems unlikely that any were struck. The reverse legends were changed from those of the 1625 issue. All obverses have MAG BRIT (or BRITAN).

As in the case of the first coinage, none of Briot's Scottish gold coins have the value on them. It may be noted, however, that Briot's angel does bear the symbol 'x'. This piece is believed to have been made specially for the ceremony of touching for the king's evil held at Edinburgh in June 1633.¹ If the angel is truly the one produced in Edinburgh by Briot, then the 'x' really is meaningless, since it could stand neither for a number of Scottish pounds nor shillings. An 'x' could have been added only so as to conform in this respect with the tower mint angels of Charles I, for it was the established practice in Scotland never to put a mark of value on gold coins.

Unit. There are two varieties, one with the initial B at the end of the obverse legend (B. 3) and the other with the B at the beginning (B. 4). The latter normally has a flaw at the AN of BRITAN, and on the reverse the small crown over the C has been double punched. I have never seen any specimen having the obverse of B. 3 and the reverse of B. 4 or vice versa.² On both varieties the king wears a Scottish crown. On the unit the king faces right, whereas on all the other denominations he faces left. The B. 3 units are fairly common, but the B. 4 variety is rare.

Double-crown (rare). There are two varieties. On one the king wears a Scottish crown and on the other an English crown. Both have the initial B below the bust.

Britain crown. Two varieties, one with an English and the other with a Scottish crown on the obverse. The former has a B at the end of the obverse legend and is very rare; the latter has a B at the beginning of the obverse legend and is extremely rare.³

Half-crown (rare). There are two varieties, both with a Scottish crown. One obverse die which has a B below the bust was later used for a silver two-shilling piece.⁴ The second variety has no B on the obverse, but has one above the crown on the reverse.

Intermediate issue (Burns ii, pp. 463–5; Stewart, p. 108)

Denominations: thirty-shilling and twelve-shilling pieces.

The above are the only two denominations that can be given to this issue with any certainty. They have a thistle-head initial-mark on both sides of the coin. On the twelve-shillings the King wears a Scottish crown. Only one pair of dies seems to have been made for each value. Both are scarce.

These two coins are sometimes confused with similar values of Falconer's anonymous issue. The intermediate coins are of much neater workmanship than the latter. On the thirty-shillings the tip of the king's sword reaches the edge of the coin, whereas on the anonymous issue thirty-shillings it extends only to the inner circle. On the intermediate twelve-shillings the bust extends to the outer circle; on the anonymous issue twelve-shillings it is surrounded by the legend.

¹ See R. B. K. Stevenson, 'The "Stirling" Turners of Charles I', *BNJ* 1959, p. 133. For a discussion see H. Schneider, 'The Tower Gold of Charles I: Part IV, The Angels', *BNJ* 1962, pp. 316 ff., and I. H. Stewart, 'Some Scottish Ceremonial Coins', *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* xcvi, pp. 270–5.

² In the Bute sale (1951), lot 204, a unit was said to have a B. 3 obverse and B. 4 reverse. This statement

was most probably due to the cataloguer being misled by a misprint in Burns ii, p. 482, where B. 3 is shown as having ET instead of VT on the reverse.

³ The only specimens with a Scottish crown that I have seen are those in the BM, NMS (B. 7 bis) and Ashmolean.

⁴ See under Fourth Coinage, 1642.

Falconer's issues

Although Burns has separated these into three distinct issues, the dividing line between them is not always sharp and clear, and many varieties have characteristics that are common to two issues. Such hybrid varieties show how the issues tended to merge into one another and attention will be drawn to them as they occur. Most of Falconer's coins have pellet stops, but a few have lozenges, as on Briot's.

No detailed mint registers have survived for Falconer's issues, but the Scottish Record Office has a slim volume containing 'The Compt of the Coynezehous', made by the mint-master, John Falconer, for the period 6 June 1639 to 3 April 1641.¹ Probably all Falconer's third coinage issues, both gold and silver, were struck during this period.

Falconer's gold issue (Burns ii, pp. 482–3; Stewart, p. 109)

Denominations: unit, double-crown, crown, half-crown.

The account book states that the pieces struck were 'vnite peices, double and single quarter and halff quarter crownis'. The fineness is given as 22 carats and the amount struck as 2 stone, 6 pounds, 5 ounces, 9 drops, and 28 grains. This is about half the amount of gold coined in Scotland during the first coinage of Charles I. Specimens of the unit and double-crown only are now known, for which some of Briot's punches have been used in making the dies. They are very similar to Briot's coins, but have an F on obverse and reverse. Both are extremely rare.

Falconer's silver issues

According to the account book, three-pound, thirty-shilling, twelve-shilling, six-shilling, forty-penny, and twenty-penny pieces were struck, 11 deniers fine, amounting to 345 stone, 5 pounds, 15 ounces, and 4 drops.² No three-pound pieces by Falconer are known today, so it remains uncertain whether he used Briot's dies for this denomination, as firmly stated by Burns (p. 458), or whether no specimens have survived from Falconer's own dies. As in the case of Falconer's gold issue, many of Briot's punches were used for the silver, particularly for some of the busts and details of the shields.

Falconer's first issue with F (Burns, ii, pp. 465–8; Stewart, pp. 108–9)

Denominations: 12*s.*, 6*s.*, 40*d.*, 20*d.*

Falconer's first issue is clearly distinguishable from his others by the fact that on all values the bust extends to the edge of the coin, the legend commencing at 7 o'clock. All have the initial F on the reverse with the exception of one variety of twenty-penny piece which is discussed below. Falconer reverses are sometimes muled with Briot obverses.

Twelve-shilling piece (common). There is only one variety for which a single pair of dies is believed to have been used. The king wears a Scottish crown.

Six-shilling piece. Eleven varieties are known to me, of which four are Briot/Falconer mules. Three Briot obverse dies have been used to concoct these mules, but one of the dies has not been traced on any specimen of Briot's own coinage. Two Falconer obverse dies have lozenge stops (4 and 5), one of them having an F below the bust in imitation of Briot's custom of putting his initial in this position. Otherwise the initial F is found only on the reverse. Four of the eleven varieties share one reverse. One obverse

¹ Reference E 101/5.

² In *NC* 1879, p. 71, R. W. Cochran-Patrick gives (incorrectly) 348 stone.

(8) has the usual feature of the bottom of the bust extending to the edge of the coin, yet has CAROLVS instead of CAR, CAROLVS being normal for Falconer's second issue. This obverse bears a certain family resemblance to one of Falconer's first issue forty-penny pieces (*obv.* j) which also has CAROLVS. Richardson gave this 6s. to Falconer's second issue with F (R. 75), but it seems to have more in common with the first issue, since it also lacks the leaved-thistle initial-marks that are a normal feature of Falconer's second issue six-shilling pieces. On all obverses the king has an English crown. Most varieties of first issue six-shilling pieces, whether muled or not, are quite rare. Several are known to me each from a single specimen.

Forty-penny piece. This is common with SCOT ANG in the obverse legend, but is extremely rare with MAG (or M) BR. There are rare Briot/Falconer mules. All have F on the reverse. On many reverses part of the dexter thistle leaf is missing, as on certain Briot reverses, the same defective punch having been used. An exceptional reverse has lozenge stops. Obverse 'h' has '&' for ET which is normal for Falconer's anonymous issue, but which sometimes also occurs in his second issue with F. There are two reverses with REX for LEX. It seems probable that both are the result of errors by the die-sinker and that Burns's suggested explanation (p. 467) is without foundation; neither has the broken thistle leaf. They are very rare. On all varieties the king's crown is Scottish.

Twenty-penny piece. This is common both with SCOT ANG and MAG BRIT (BRI or BR). Some very rare die-varieties have a reversed N in ANG or THRONVM. A rare Briot/Falconer mule is known; as in the case of Falconer's first issue six-shillings, obverse 2, the obverse die for this mule has not so far been matched on a twenty-penny piece of Briot's issue. All reverses have the initial F except for one, and the most probable explanation seems to be that the die-sinker forgot to punch an F on the die. Coins with SCOT ANG may have the F either at the end of the reverse legend or above the crown. Coins with MAG BRIT appear to have the F only above the crown. Scottish crown.

Falconer's second issue with F (Burns ii, pp. 468–73; Stewart, p. 109)

Denominations: 30s., 12s., 6s., 20d.

These may be distinguished from similar values of other issues since (a) on the twelve-shilling, six-shilling, and twenty-penny pieces the legend completely surrounds the bust and begins at one o'clock, and (b) all values have an initial F on obverse or reverse. On the three largest pieces a leaved-thistle initial-mark is normally found on both obverse and reverse, but occasionally it is replaced by a thistle-head or is omitted. The thistle-head is a common feature of the anonymous issue. Lozenge stops occur on one variety of thirty-shillings and one twelve-shillings.

Thirty-shilling piece (common). There are seven varieties, all of which have an F near the horse's hind hoof and rough or smooth ground below the horse. One variety (3) also has an F above the crown on the reverse. No. 1 has lozenge stops and should probably be regarded as the earliest.

Twelve-shilling piece. Nine varieties have been noted, some common and others very rare. No. 1 has lozenge stops on both sides and an F at the end of the obverse legend; it is much the commonest variety. No. 7 also has an F at the end of the obverse legend, but has plain instead of beaded inner circles and is extremely rare (three specimens seen);¹

¹ One is in the NMAS (R. 70) and two others in private collections.

it is of very coarse workmanship and has more the appearance of a forgery than a genuine coin, yet official punches were used, for example for the bust and for the lions and harp in the shield. Nos. 8 and 9 are also extremely rare. All twelve-shillings now have CAROLVS instead of CAR. The king's crown is always English.

Six-shilling piece (scarce). There are two varieties, both having CAROLVS. They have the usual leaved-thistle initial-mark on the obverse, but no. 2 lacks it on the reverse. English crown. Both varieties have an F above the reverse crown.

Twenty-penny piece (common). This has either SCOT ANG or MAG(N) BRIT. Normally has a lozenge initial-mark on the obverse, those without it being scarcer. They may have ET or '&' in the obverse legend, an '&' being more characteristic of Falconer's anonymous issue. On the obverse, a single point after the D is beginning to replace the colon. All varieties have F on the reverse, either after the legend or above the crown. Scottish crown.

Falconer's anonymous issue (Burns, ii, pp. 473-6; Stewart, p. 109)

Denominations: 30s., 12s., 6s., 20d.

Coins of this issue are similar in appearance to those of the last, but they do not have an F on either obverse or reverse. The twelve-shilling and six-shilling pieces are also instantly recognizable by the absence of lozenges below the crowned CR on the reverse. The leaved-thistle initial-mark is often replaced by a thistle-head.

Thirty-shilling piece (common). Of the six varieties, all have a leaved-thistle initial-mark on the obverse and all save no. 1 (which has none) have a thistle-head on the reverse. There is always herbage below the horse. Some obverses have ET as on Falconer's earlier issues and probably precede those with '&'.

Twelve-shilling piece (common). There are three varieties, of which one has a leaved-thistle initial-mark on the obverse, otherwise there is always a thistle-head. All have CAROLVS, '&' for ET, and a single point after D in the obverse legend. English crown.

Six-shilling piece (scarce). There is one variety only for which one pair of dies is believed to have been used. The obverse has CAROLVS as on Falconer's previous issue. The initial-marks are: obverse—leaved-thistle; reverse—thistle-head. English crown.

Twenty-penny piece. The obverse legend may have SCOT ANG (very common) or MAG BRIT (very rare). As the MAG BRIT legend is the only one with ET for '&', this suggests it is a mule of a Falconer's second issue obverse and anonymous reverse; of three specimens examined, all were from the same obverse die. Some obverses have CAROLVS in full instead of CAR, a new development on twenty-penny pieces. Only rarely is there a colon after the D on the obverse. Many varieties have an initial-mark lozenge on the obverse, as on the previous issue. Scottish crown.

FOURTH COINAGE, 1642 (Burns ii, pp. 477-80; Stewart, pp. 109-10)

Denominations: three-shilling and two-shilling pieces.

This coinage was ordered by the Privy Council on 28 March 1642 on account of the continuing shortage of small silver money. The Act is curiously worded, for it quotes the Act of 21 July 1636, in which the Privy Council ordered half-merk, forty-penny, and twenty-penny pieces (Briot's hammered issue), and then goes on to forbid the striking

of any more pieces of these denominations, thus ignoring Briot's and Falconer's milled issues of 1637-41. It is possible that thirty-shilling, twelve-shilling, and six-shilling pieces continued to be struck during the period of the fourth coinage, but there are no records available to show whether this was so. There are no initial-marks.

Three-shilling piece (scarce). Two obverse and four reverse dies have been identified. There is a thistle-head behind the bust. One variety (*obv. a*) normally has a small flaw above the thistle. Scottish crown.

Two-shilling piece. There are two types. The first has an obverse which was first used for a Briot half-crown of 1637 (no. 1) and is rare; it is without any mark of value. The second type has the value II behind the head. Scottish crown. Few dies were used and specimens are uncommon.

5. APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Some years ago Messrs. Baldwin & Sons very kindly gave me the opportunity of making a detailed examination of a considerable number of twelve-shilling, forty-penny, and twenty-penny pieces in their stock. The samples appeared to be fairly random, so the number of coins of each main variety were counted so as to obtain an indication of relative rarity, and these are listed below. Two points call for comment. Forty-penny pieces of Falconer's first issue with the error REX for LEX on the reverse are very rare, so the presence of two specimens in a sample of twenty-five coins of this issue is unexpectedly high. Similarly, three anonymous twenty-penny pieces with MAG BRIT out of fifty-five specimens seems a high proportion for a rarity which was unknown to Burns and is not listed in Richardson.

Twelve-shilling pieces

First coinage	1	
Third coinage—Briot's issue	23	(one pair of dies)
Intermediate issue	2	
Falconer's 1st issue	21	ditto
Falconer's 2nd issue		
No. 1	33	ditto
No. 2	1	
No. 3	7	
No. 4	5	
No. 5	3	
No. 6	8	
No. 7	1	
Falconer's anon. issue		
No. 2	4	
No. 3	4	
Total	113	

Forty-penny pieces

Second coinage (Briot's hammered)	5	
Third coinage—Briot's issue	9	
Falconer's issue	25	(two with REX)
Total	39	

Twenty-penny pieces

Second coinage (Briot's hammered)	1
Third coinage—Briot's issue	11
Falconer's 1st issue	27
Falconer's 2nd issue	8
Falconer's anon. issue	55 (three with MAG BRIT)
Forgeries	4
Total	<u>106</u>

Appendix 2. British Museum, Department of Manuscripts, additional MS. 28566.¹ On fol. 29b there occurs the following:

Scotsh Coines.

One penny English.	A shilling Scotch
Twenty pence English.	A pound Scotch

Small Coines of Brasse

Bothwells.	vj	make a penny English
Placks.	3	make a penny English
Atchinsons.	3	make two pence English

{ Thirteene pence halfe penny English
Is a Scottsh marke
But they account the Scottsh marke
Thirteene pence English & one of their placks
{ Halfe marke Scottsh
Sixepence English & an Atchinson
{ The quarter of an English thirteene pence halfe penny
Call'd in Scot: A 40 penny peice
And is in value 3d. English & a Plack
{ The halfe of that is call'd A 20 penny peice
And is jd. ob English & A Bothwell

Appendix 3. Legends on coins of Charles I

CHRISTO AUSPICE REGNO I rule under the auspices of Christ.
FACIAM EOS IN GENTEM UNAM I will make them one nation.
HENRICUS ROSAS REGNA IACOBUS Henry united the roses, James the kingdoms.
HIS PRÆSUM UT PROSIM I am put in charge of these so that I may benefit them.
IUSTITIA THRONUM FIRMAT Justice strengthens the throne.
QUÆ DEUS CONIUNXIT NEMO SEPARET What God hath joined let not man put asunder.
ROSA SINE SPINA The rose without a thorn.
SALUS REIPUBLICÆ SUPREMA LEX The law is the supreme safeguard of the people.
TUEATUR UNITA DEUS God protect the union.
UNITA TUEMUR We protect the union.

6. LIST OF DENOMINATIONS AND VARIETIES

FIRST COINAGE (Gold)

Unit (Plate II, No. 1)

- Obv.* · CAROLVS · D · G · MAG · BRIT · FRAN · & · HIB · REX ·
Crowned half-length figure of the king to right, holding a sceptre and orb.
Rev. · FACIAM · EOS · IN · GENTEM · VNAM ·
Crowned shield between c and r. I. m. thistle-head both sides.

¹ See page 116, *ante*.

Two obverse dies: 1. B. 1 *bis*, R. 98, Ashmolean 1. 2. BM, B. 1 (fig. 1030), Ashmolean 2.

Three reverse dies: 1. BM, B. 1, B. 1 *bis*. 2. R. 98, Ashmolean 1. 3. Ashmolean 2.

Die varieties. O1/R1 B. 1 *bis*. O1/R2 R. 98, Ashmolean 1. O2/R1 BM, B. 1. O2/R2 Wills sale 1938, lot 190. O2/R3 Ashmolean 2.

DOUBLE-CROWN (Plate II, No. 4)

Obv. · CAROLVS · D · G · MAG · BRIT · FRAN · & · HIB · REX ·

Crowned bust to right.

Rev. · HENRICVS · ROSAS · REGNA · IACOBVS ·

Crowned shield between c and r. I.m. thistle-head both sides.

Two obverse dies: 1. BM 1, B. 2 (fig. 1031), R. 99 (fig. 154). 2. BM 2, Lockett 403, Murray.

Two reverse dies: 1. BM 1, BM 2, B. 2, R. 99. 2. Lockett 403, Murray.

Die varieties. O1/R1 BM 1, B. 2, R. 99. O2/R1 BM 2. O2/R2 Lockett 403, Murray.

BRITAIN CROWN (Plate II, No. 8)

Obv. · CAROLVS · D · G · MAG · BRIT · FRAN · & · HIB · REX ·

Crowned bust to right.

Rev. · HENRICVS · ROSAS · REGNA · IACOBVS ·

Crowned shield between c and r. I.m. thistle-head both sides.

One pair of dies. Two specimens known in the BM and Ashmolean.

FIRST COINAGE (Silver)

SIXTY-SHILLING PIECE

Obv. · CAROLVS · D · G · MAG · BRIT · FRAN · & · HIB · REX ·

The king on horseback to right; a crowned thistle-head on the housings.

Rev. · QVÆ · DEVS · CONIVNXIT · NEMO · SEPARET ·

Shield. I.m. thistle-head on both sides.

Two obverse dies: 1. I. H. Stewart, Murray. 2. B. 1 (fig. 996), R. 1. One reverse die.

THIRTY-SHILLING PIECE (Plate III, No. 13)

Obv. · CAROLVS · D · G · MAG · BRIT · FRAN · & · HIB · REX ·

As sixty-shilling piece.

Rev. · QVÆ · DEVS · CONIVNXIT · NEMO · SEPARET ·

As sixty-shilling piece.

B. 2 and R. 2.

Varities. 1. SEPRET for SEPARET (NMAS 1954. 384 and 1956. 55). 2. No stops between words on obverse (NMAS 1954. 382).¹

TWELVE-SHILLING PIECE (Plate III, No. 18)

Obv. · CAROLVS · D · G · MAG · BRIT · FRAN · & · HIB · REX ·

Crowned bust to right, the value XII behind.

Rev. · QVÆ · DEVS · CONIVNXIT · NEMO · SEPARET ·

Plain shield. I.m. thistle-head on both sides.

B. 3 and R. 3. A variety of reverse has CONIVXIT (Murray).²

¹ There is also a 30s. in the NMAS (1954. 380) with the apparent reading of DIEVS for DEVS, but this is due to double striking.

² There was another specimen in the Lockett collection.

SIX-SHILLING PIECE (Plate IV, No. 24)

Obv. · CAROLVS · D · G · MAG · BRIT · FRAN · & · HIB · REX ·

Crowned bust to right, the value vi behind.

Rev. · QVÆ · DEVS · CONIVNXIT · NEMO · SEPARET ·

Shield with date above it. I.m. thistle-head both sides.

For a list of dates see page 121, *ante*.

TWO-SHILLING PIECE (Pl. IV, No. 36)

Obv. · C · D · G · ROSA · SINE · SPINA ·

Crowned rose.

Rev. · TVEATVR · VNITA · DEVS ·

Crowned thistle-head. I.m. thistle-head both sides.

B. 6 and R. 6.

ONE-SHILLING PIECE (Plate IV, No. 37)

Obv. · C · D · G · ROSA · SINE · SPINA ·

A rose.

Rev. · TVEATVR · VNITA · DEVS ·

A thistle-head. I.m. thistle-head both sides. R. 7.

SECOND COINAGE**HALF-MERK PIECE** (Plate IV, No. 29)

Obv. a. CAROLVS · D · G · SCOT · ANG · FR · & · HIB · R ·

b. CAROLVS · FR · & · HIB · R ·

c. CAROLVS · FR · & · HIB · R ·

Crowned bust to left, the value $\frac{VI}{8}$ behind.

Rev. CHRISTO · AVSPICE · REGNO ·

Plain shield crowned. B. 1, R. 8.

FORTY-PENNY PIECE (Plate IV, No. 32)

Obv. CAR · D · G · SCOT · ANG · FR · & · HIB · R ·

Crowned bust to left, the value XL behind.

Rev. a. SALVS · REIP · SVPR · LEX ·

b. SALVS · REIP · SVPR · LEX ·

c. SALVS · REIP · SVPREM · LEX ·

Crowned thistle. B. 2, R. 9.

TWENTY-PENNY PIECE (Plate IV, No. 38)

Obv. a. CAR · D · G · SCOT · ANG · FR · & · HIB · R ·

b. CAR · & · HIB · R ·

Crowned bust to left, the value xx behind.

Rev. IVST · THRONVM · FIRMAT ·

Crowned thistle. B. 3, R. 10, Murray.

Briot's pattern milled coinage of 1636**HALF-MERK PIECE** (Plate IV, No. 30)

Obv. · CAR · D · G · SCOT · ANG · FR · ET · HIB · R ·

Crowned bust to left, the value $\frac{VI}{8}$ behind with a lozenge each side of it; B below the bust.

Rev. · CHRISTO · AVSPICE · REGNO ·

Crowned shield between crowned C R; above the crown is the date 1636. Lozenge stops both sides. The specimen illustrated is Lockett 420. R. 11, R. S. M.

FORTY-PENNY PIECE (Plate IV, No. 33)

Obv. CAR · D · G · SCOT · ANG · FR · ET · HIB · R ·

As above, but the value XL behind the bust with a lozenge above and below it; B below the bust.

Rev. SALVS · REIPVBLICE · SVPREMA · LEX ·

Crowned two-leaved thistle between crowned C R. Lozenge stops both sides. R. 12.

TWENTY-PENNY PIECE (Plate IV, No. 39)

Obv. · CAR · D · G · SCOT · ANG · FR · ET · HIB · R ·

As above, but XX behind the bust with a lozenge above and below it; B below the bust.

Rev. · IVSTITIA · THRONVM · FIRMAT ·

As for the forty-penny piece. Lozenge stops both sides. B. 4, BM, H. 281.

THIRD COINAGE

Briot's silver issue

SIXTY-SHILLING PIECE

Obv. CAROLVS · D · G · MAGN · BRITANN · FRANC · ET · HIBERN · REX ·

The king on horseback to left; i.m. thistle-head with B above it.

Rev. QVÆ · DEVS · CONIVNXIT · NEMO · SEPARET ·

Crowned shield; thistle-head and B at end of legend. Lozenge stops both sides. B. 5, R. 13.

THIRTY-SHILLING PIECE (Plate III, No. 14)

Obv. CAROLVS · D · G · MAGN · BRITAN · FRAN · ET · HIB · REX ·

The king on horseback to left; B and anemone after legend.

Rev. QVÆ · DEVS · CONIVNXIT · NEMO · SEPARET ·

Crowned shield; B and thistle-head before legend. Lozenge stops both sides. B. 6, R. 14.

TWELVE-SHILLING PIECE (Plate III, No. 19)

Obv. CAR · D · G · MAG · BRIT · FRAN · ET · HIB · REX

Crowned bust to left to edge of coin, the value XII behind; B after the legend.

Rev. QVÆ · DEVS · CONIVNXIT · NEMO · SEPARET

Crowned shield between crowned C R; B at end of legend. Lozenge stops both sides. B. 7, R. 15.

SIX-SHILLING PIECE (Plate IV, No. 25)

Obv. Crowned bust to left to edge of coin, the value VI behind.

Rev. Crowned shield between crowned C R.

Type (i) A lozenge to the right and another below the value.

Type (ii) A lozenge above and below the value.

Type (iii) A lozenge below the value.

Type (iv) No lozenges by the value.

Obverses

a. CAR · D · G · MAG · BRIT · FRAN · ET · HIB · REX

b. CAR · · · · · REX ·

c. CAR · D · G · MAG · BRIT · · · · · REX ·

Reverses

a. QVÆ · DEVS · CONIVNXIT · NEMO · SEPARET ·

b. QVÆ · · · · · SEPARET ·

c. QVÆ · · · · · SEPAR ·

d. QVÆ · · · · · NEMO · SEPAR

e. · QVÆ · · · · · NEMO · SEPARET ·

Die varieties

	<i>Type</i>	<i>Position of B</i>		<i>Harp</i>	<i>Type of stops</i>	<i>Legends</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
		<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>				
1	(i)	Lis and B after legend	No B	Small without strings	Lozenges	a/a	BM, B. 9, R. 16, H. 286
2	(ii)	After legend	Over crown to right	Large with strings	Pellets	b/c	B. 10
3	(ii)	„	After legend	Small with strings	„	b/b	Same obverse die as 2. H. 287
4	(ii)	„	Over crown to left	„	„	b/e	BM
5	(iii)	Below the bust	After legend	„	Lozenges	c/d	NMAS (1968), H. 288
6	(iv)	After legend	No B	Small without strings	„	b/a	Same reverse die as 1. BM, B. 8

HALF-MERK PIECE (Plate IV, No. 31)

Obv. CAR · D · G · SCOT · ANG · FR · ET · HIB · R ·

Crowned bust to left to edge of coin, the value $\frac{VI}{8}$ behind;

B below the bust.

Rev. a. CHRISTO · AVSPICE · REGNO ·

b. · CHRISTO · AVSPICE · REGNO ·

Crowned shield between crowned C R. Lozenge stops both sides.

Type (i) A lozenge each side of the value.

Type (ii) A lozenge to the right of the value.

Obverse dies

	<i>Type</i>	<i>Position of front of the crown</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1	(i)	Under A of ANG	Flaw above 8 of value
2	(i)	„	Tops of the RS broken off
3	(i)	„	Similar to 2, but v of VI is double-punched
4	(i)	Under T of SCOT	Flaw in field in front of crown
5	(ii)	Under left foot of A	F of FR and T of ET are double-punched
6	(ii)	Between T and A	I of HIB is double-punched
7	(ii)	Under left foot of A	B below the bust has a pellet each side of it

Reverse dies

	<i>Position of B</i>	<i>Legend</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1	After legend, just above crown	a	Often flaw through EG of REGNO
2	Above crown, close to dexter side of cross	a	Pointed shield. S of CHRISTO double-punched
3	Immediately after the legend	b	C of CR touches the inner circle
4	„	b	Pointed shield. The ES in AVSPICE and REGNO are double-punched
5	„	b	Very similar to 1, but stop before CHRISTO

Die varieties. O1/R1 (BM, B. 12, R. 17), O2/R1 (BM, Ashmolean), O3/R1 and O4/R2 (Murray), O4/R1 (B. 11, Ashmolean), O5/R3 (Ashmolean), O6/R1 and O6/R4 (Murray), O7/R1 (R. 18), O7/R5 (R. 19).

FORTY-PENNY PIECE (Plate IV, No. 34)

Obv. Crowned bust to left to edge of coin, the value XL behind.

Rev. Crowned two-leaved thistle.

	<i>Type of stops</i>	<i>Reference</i>
<i>Obverses</i>		
Type (i). Lozenges each side, above and below the value.		
a. CAR · D: G · SCOT · ANG · FR · ET · HIB · R (B under bust)	Pellets	R. 23
b. CAR · R · B	Lozenges	NMAS (1960)
Type (ii). Lozenges above, below and to right of value.		
c. CAR · D: G · SCOT · ANG · FR · ET · HIB · R · ^m	Pellets	NMAS (1957)
Type (iii). Lozenges above and below the value.		
d. CAR · D: G · SCOT · ANG · FR · ET · HIB · R · ^m	Pellets	B. 13
e. CAR · R · ^m	"	B. 14
f. CAR · R · ^m (another B under bust)	"	R. 21
g. CAR · R (B under left shoulder)	"	R. 22
h. CAR · R · "	"	R. 24
Type (iv). No lozenges by value.		
i. · CAR · D: G · SCOT · ANG · FR · ET · HIB · R · (B under left shoulder)	Lozenges	R. 20
<i>Reverses</i>		
a. · SALVS · REIPVBLICE · SVPREMA · LEX · ^m	Lozenges	R. 20
b. · SALVS · LEX · ^m	"	NMAS (1960)
c. · SALVS · LEX · ^m	"	B. 13
d. · SALVS · REIPVB · SVPREMA · LEX · ^m	"	NMAS (1957)
e. · SALVS · LEX · ^m	Pellets	R. 24
f. ^m · SALVS · LEX · (B also over crown to left)	Lozenges	NMAS (1957)
g. · SALVS · LEX · "	"	R. 23 ¹
h. · SALVS · LEX · (B over crown to right)	Pellets	NMAS (1960)
i. · SALVS · LEX · (B under thistle)	"	R. 22

TWENTY-PENNY PIECE (Plate IV, No. 40)

Obv. Crowned bust to left to edge of coin, the value xx behind.

Rev. Crowned two-leaved thistle.

	<i>Reference</i>
<i>Obverses</i>	
Type (i). Lozenges above and below the value	
a. CAR · D: G · SCOT · ANG · FR · ET · HIB · R · ^m	R. 25
b. CAR · R · ^m	B. 15
c. CAR · R (B above the crown)	B. 17, R. 27
d. CAR · R · (no B)	Lockett
e. CAR · R · (no B)	R. 26
Type (ii). No lozenges by the value.	
f. CAR · D: G · SCOT · ANG · FR · ET · HI · R · ^m	Lockett
g. CAR · HIB · R · ^m	BM
h. CAR · HIB · R · ^m	Murray
i. CAR · HIB · R · ^m	R. 30
j. ^m CAR · HIB · R	B. 18, R. 32
k. ^u CAR · HIB · R ·	Murray
l. CAR · HIB · R (no B)	Murray
m. CAR · ANG · HIB · R (no B)	R. 31

¹ B. 14 and R. 21 are similar to R. 23, but have a point instead of a lozenge after LEX.

References

Reverses

a.	IVSTITIA · THRONVM · FIRMAT ^B		R. 31
b.	· IVSTITIA · FIRMAT · ^B		B. 15
c.	IVSTITIA · FIRMAT · ^B		Lockett
d.	· IVSTITIA · FIRMAT ^B		Murray
e.	· IVSTITIA · FIRMAT ·	(B under thistle)	R. 25
f.	IVSTITIA · FIRMAT ·	„	Lockett
g.	IVSTITIA · FIRMAT ·	(B above crown to left)	Lockett
h.	· IVSTITIA · FIRMAT ·	„	B. 18
i.	IVSTITIA · FIRMAT	„	B. 16
j.	· IVSTITIA · FIRMAT	„	Murray
k.	IVSTITIA · FIRMAT ·	(B above crown to right)	R. 26
l.	· IVSTITIA · FIRMAT ·	„	B. 17
m.	IVSTITIA · FIRMAT	(B inside crown)	B. 19, R. 30

Briot's gold issue

UNIT (Plate II, No. 2)

1. *Obv.* CAROLVS · D · G · MAG · BRITAN · FRAN · ET · HIB · REX ·

Crowned half-length figure of the king to right holding a sceptre and orb; thistle-head and B at end of legend.

- Rev.* HIS · PRÆSVM · VT · PROSIM ·

Crowned shield between crowned C R.

One pair of dies (BM, B. 3—fig. 1032, R. 100—fig. 155).

2. As 1, but with a B at the beginning and a thistle-head at the end of the obverse legend.

One pair of dies (B. 4—fig. 1033).

DOUBLE-CROWN (Plate II, Nos. 5 and 6)

- Obv.* a. CAR · D · G · MAG · BRIT · FRAN · ET · HIB · REX

- b. CAR · RE^X

- c. CAR · · REX ·

Crowned bust to left to edge of coin with B below it.

- Rev.* · VNITA · TVEMVR ·

Crowned shield between crowned C R.

Varieties

	<i>King's crown</i>	<i>Obverse legend</i>	<i>Type of stops</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1	English	a	Lozenges after CAR, G, and MAG, and on the reverse, otherwise pellets	One obverse and three reverse dies, as under: 1. BM, B. 5 (fig. 1034) 2. B. 5 <i>bis</i> 3. R. 102
2	Scottish	b	Lozenges	No stop after HIB. One obverse die, new reverse die. BM, B. 6 (fig. 1035)
3	„	c	„	One obverse die; same reverse as 2. R. 103

BRITAIN CROWN (Plate II, Nos. 9 and 10)

- Obv.* CAR · D · G · MAG · BRIT · FR · ET · HIB · REX

Crowned bust to left to edge of coin; pellet stops.

- Rev.* · VNITA · TVEMVR ·

Crowned shield between crowned C R; lozenge stops.

Varieties

	<i>King's crown</i>	<i>Position of B</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1	English	At end of obverse legend	One pair of dies. B. 7 (fig. 1036), R. 105.
2	Scottish	At beginning of obverse legend	Two obverse dies and two new reverse dies. 01 R1—B. 7 <i>bis</i> , Ashmolean. 02 R2—BM.

HALF-CROWN (Plate II, Nos. 11 and 12)

- Obv.* a. CAR · D: G · MAG · BRIT · FRAN · ET · HIB · R
 b. CAR · REX
 Crowned bust to left to edge of coin; pellet stops.
- Rev.* · VNITA · TVEMVR ·
 Crowned shield between C R; lozenge stops.

Varieties

	<i>King's crown</i>	<i>Position of B</i>	<i>Obverse legend</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1	Scottish	Below bust	a	One pair of dies. BM, B. 8 (fig. 1037), R. 106
2	„	No B on obv.; B and a lozenge above the crown on the reverse	b	One pair of dies. B. 9 (fig. 1038), R. 107

Intermediate issue**THIRTY-SHILLING PIECE** (Plate III, No. 15)

- Obv.* CAROLVS · D: G · MAGN · BRITAN · FRAN · ET · HIB · REX ·
 The king on horseback to left; i.m. thistle-head.
- Rev.* QVÆ · DEVS · CONIVNXIT · NEMO · SEPARET ·
 Crowned shield; i.m. thistle-head. Lozenge stops both sides. B. 20, R. 28.

TWELVE-SHILLING PIECE (Plate III, No. 20)

- Obv.* CAR · D: G · MAG · BRITAN · FR · ET · HIB · REX ·
 Crowned bust to left to edge of coin, the value XII behind; i.m. thistle-head at end of legend.
- Rev.* QVÆ · DEVS · CONIVNXIT · NEMO · SEPARET ·
 Crowned shield between crowned C R; i.m. thistle-head above crown. Lozenge stops both sides. B. 21, R. 29.

Falconer's gold issue**UNIT** (Plate II, No. 3)

- Obv.* CAROLVS · D: G · MAGN · BRITAN · FRAN · ET · HI · REX
 As Briot's units, but with a leaved thistle and F at the end of the legend. Scottish crown.
- Rev.* HIS · PRÆSUM · VT · PROSIM ·
 As Briot's, but with a flower and F at the end of the legend. Pellet stops both sides. Only one specimen seen (R. 101).

DOUBLE-CROWN (Plate II, No. 7)

- Obv.* CAR · D: G · MAG · BRIT · FR · ET · HIB · REX ·
 As Briot's double-crown, but with F at the end of the legend. The bust extends almost to the edge of the coin as on Falconer's first silver issue. English crown.
- Rev.* · VNITA · TVEMVR ·
 As Briot's, but with F and a point above the crown. Pellet stops both sides. One pair of dies. Three specimens seen: B. 6 *bis*, R. 104, Ashmolean.

Falconer's first issue with F**TWELVE-SHILLING PIECE** (Plate III, No. 21)*Obv.* CAR · D · G · MAG · BRITAN · FR · ET · HIB · REX

Crowned bust to left to edge of coin, the value XII behind.

Rev. QVÆ · DEVS · CONIVNXIT · NEMO · SEPARETCrowned shield between crowned C R; F over the right of the crown. Lozenge stops both sides.
B. 24, R. 33.**SIX-SHILLING PIECE** (Plate IV, No. 26)*Obv. a.* CAR · D · G · MAG · BRIT · FRAN · ET · HIB · REX*b.* CAR · · · · · REX ·*c.* CAR · · · · · FR · · · · REX ·*d.* CAROLVS · D · G · MAG · BR · FR · ET · HI · R ·

Crowned bust to left to edge of coin, the value VI behind.

Rev. a. QVÆ · DEVS · CONIVNXIT · NEMO · SEPARET*b.* QVÆ · · · · · SEPARET ·*c.* QVÆ · · · · · SEPAE*d.* QVÆ · · · · · SEPA

Crowned shield between crowned C R.

Obverse dies

	Type of stops	Position of front of the crown	Legend	Remarks
1	Lozenges	Under R of BRIT	a	Briot type (i) die with <i>lis</i> and B after legend
2	Pellets	Between R and I of BRIT	b	Briot type (ii) die not matched on a Briot coin
3	Lozenges	Under I of BRIT	b	Briot type (iv) die
4	"	Between B and R	c	F under bust
5	"	Under I of BRIT	b	
6	Pellets	Under R of BRIT	a	Sometimes flaw through VI. Top of D broken
7	"	"	b	Point of beard cuts inner circle
8	"	Under G of D · G	d	Coarse beaded circles

Reverse dies

	Type of stops	Symbols above crown	Legend	Remarks
1	Pellets	F to left	a	Top of D broken
2	"	"	a	The D has been repaired
3	Lozenges	F and a lozenge	a	
4	Pellets	F to left	c	
5	"	F and a point	a	P and R of SEPARET are double-punched
6	"	"	b	
7	"	"	d	Coarse beaded and corded circles

Die varieties. O1/R1 (B. 25, R. 34), O2/R6 (I. H. Stewart), O3/R1 (Murray), O3/R2 (NMAS), O4/R1 (R. 35), O4/R3 (Murray), O5/R1 (R. 36), O6/R2 (R. 37), O7/R4 (NMAS), O7/R5 (Murray), O8/R7 (R. 75).

FORTY-PENNY PIECE (Plate IV, No. 35)*Obv.* Crowned bust to left to edge of coin, the value XL behind.*Rev.* Crowned two-leaved thistle.

Obverses

Reference

1. SCOT ANG

a.	CAR · D · G · SCOT · ANG · FR · ET · HIB · R ·	(Briot type (iii) <i>obv. h</i>)	NMAS (1964)
b.	CAR ·	· R ^m (Briot type (iii) <i>obv. e</i>)	B. 27, R. 38
c.	CAR ·	· R ·	B. 30, R. 40
d.	CAR ·	· R	B. 22, R. 41
e.	· CAR ·	· R	B. 29
f.	CAR ·	· AN ·	B. 28, R. 39
g.	CAR ·	· ANG ·	B. 33
h.	CAR · D · G · SCOT · ANG · FR · & HIB · R ·	(beaded i/c)	I. H. Stewart, Murray
2. MAG (or M) BR			
i.	CAR · D · G · MAG · BR · FR · E · HI · R		B. —
j.	CAROLVS · D · G · M · BR · F · ET · HIB · R	(beaded i/c)	B. 32

Reverses

Symbols over crown

Reference

a.	SALVS · REIPVB · SVPREMA · REX ^m		Murray
b.	SALVS ·	· REX · ^m	B. 33
c.	· SALVS ·	· LEX · ^m	B. 30, R. 45
d.	SALVS ·	· LEX · ^m	Murray
e.	· SALVS ·	· LE ^x · ^m	B. 22
f.	· SALVS ·	· LEX ·	B. 27, R. 38
g.	· SALVS ·	· LEX ·	R. 39
h.	SALVS ·	· LEX	B. —
i.	SALVS ·	· LEX	(beaded i/c) B. 31, R. 48
j.	· SALVS ·	· LEX ·	F and lis (beaded i/c) R. 47
k.	SALVS ·	· LEX	F and a lozenge ¹ Murray
l.	SALVS ·	· LEX	? (F. below thistle) R. 42

TWENTY-PENNY PIECE (Plate II, No. 41)

Obv. Crowned bust to left to edge of coin, the value xx behind.

Rev. Crowned two-leaved thistle.

Obverses

Reference

1. SCOT ANG

a.	CAR · D · G · SCOT · ANG · FR · ET · HIB · R · ^m	(no lozenges by value; not matched on a Briot coin)	B. 34
b.	CAR ·	· R	R. 49
c.	CAR ·	· R ·	B. 35
d.	CAR ·	· ANG ·	R. 50
e.	CAR ·	· ANG ·	Murray

2. MAG BRIT (BRI or BR)

f.	CAR · D · G · MAG · BRIT · FR · ET · HIB · R ·		R. 55, 56
g.	CAR ·	· BRI ·	R. 54
h.	CAR ·	· BRI ·	B. 36
i.	CAR ·	· BR ·	B. —
j.	CAR ·	· BR ·	R. 57
k.	CAR ·	· BR ·	B. 36
l.	CAR ·	· BR ·	B. —
m.	CAR ·	· BR ·	R. 59
n.	CAR ·	· FR · FR ·	R. 61, 62

¹ Reverse *k* has lozenge stops.

Reverses

a.	IVSTITIA · THRONVM · FIRMAT · ²⁴
b.	IVSTITIA · FIRMAT ^m
c.	IVSTITIA · FIRMAT ^m
d.	IVSTITIA · FIRMAT ^m
e.	IVSTITIA · THROHVM · FIRMAT ^m
f.	IVSTITIA · THRONVM · FIRMAT ^m
g.	IVSTITIA · FIRMAT ^F
h.	IVSTITIA · THROHVM · FIRMAT ·
i.	IVSTITIA · THRONVM · FIRMAT ·
j.	IVST · FIRMAT ·
k.	IVSTITIA · FIRMAT ·
l.	IVSTITIA · FIRM ·
m.	IVSTITIA · FIRMAT
n.	IVSTITIA · FIRMA
o.	IVSTITIA · THROHVM · FIRMAT ·
p.	IVSTITIA · FIRMAT ·
q.	IVSTITIA · THRONVM · FIRM
r.	IVSTITIA · FIRMAT
s.	IVST · FIRMAT ·

Symbols over crown

Two points

F to left

"

F and a point

"

"

"

"

"

F to right

None (no F)

B. 35
B. 34
R. 50
BM
Murray
NMAS (1968)
R. 52
Murray
Murray
R. 57
R. 51
R. 60
B. 36
Murray
NMAS (1968)
Murray
R. 56, 59
R. 55
R. 62

Falconer's second issue with F**THIRTY-SHILLING PIECE (Plate III, No. 16)**

- Obv.* a. CAROLVS · D · G · MAGN · BRITAN · FRAN · ET · HIB · REX
 b. CAROLVS · D · G · MAGN · BRITAN · FRAN · ET · HI · REX
 c. CAROLVS · D · G · MAGN · BRITAN · FRAN · ET · HIB · REX
 d. CAROLVS · D · G · MAG · BRIT · FRAN · ET · HIB · REX
 e. CAROLVS · D · G · MAG · BRITAN · FRAN · ET · HIB · REX
 f. CAROLVS · D · G · MAGN · BRITAN · FRAN · ET · HIB · REX
 The king on horseback to left.

- Rev.* a. QVÆ · DEVS · CONIVNXIT · NEMO · SEPARET
 b. QVÆ · DEVS · CONIVNXIT · NEMO · SEPARET ·
 c. QVÆ · DEVS · CONIVNXIT · NEMO · SEPARET^T
 d. QVÆ · DEVS · CONIVNXIT · NEMO · SEPARET
 e. QVÆ · DEVS · CONIVNXIT · NEMO · SEPARET ·
 Crowned shield.

Die varieties

	<i>Obverse initial- mark</i>	<i>Reverse initial- mark</i>	<i>Position of F</i>	<i>Type of ground</i>	<i>Symbols above reverse crown</i>	<i>Legends</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1	Leaved thistle; 5-pointed star each side	Leaved thistle	Below hoof	Rough	Two 5-pointed stars	a/a	Star on ground below horse. Lozenge stops. B. 40, R. 67
2	Leaved thistle	"	"	Slightly rough	"	b/a	B. —, R. 66
3	Leaved thistle; cross and pellet each side	"	"	Rough	F and two pel- lets on dex- ter side; 5-pointed star and pellet on sinister	c/b	B. 41, R. 68

	<i>Obverse initial-mark</i>	<i>Reverse initial-mark</i>	<i>Position of F</i>	<i>Type of ground</i>	<i>Symbols above reverse crown</i>	<i>Legends</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
4	Large and small-leaved thistles	"	"	Smooth	5-pointed star on dexter side; 6-pointed star on sinister	d/c	B. 39, R. 65
5	Leaved thistle	"	In front of hoof	"	Two lozenges	e/d	Often flaw at NX of CONIVNXIT. B. 38, R. 63
6	"	"	"	Slightly rough	"	f/d	Same reverse die as No. 5. B. —
7	"	Thistle-head	"	Smooth	None	e/e	Same obverse die as No. 5. Ornamented crown on reverse; often flaws at second N of CONIVNXIT and B of BRIT. R. 64

TWELVE-SHILLING PIECE (Plate III, No. 22)

Obv. a. CAROLVS · D · G · MAGN · BRITAN · FRANC · ET · HIB · REX ·

b. · : CAROLVS · D · G · MAG · BRIT · FRAN · ET · HIB · REX ·

c. CAROLVS · D · G · MAGN · BRITAN · FRAN · ET · HIB · REX

d. :CAROLVS · D · G · MAG · BRIT · FRAN · ET · HIB · REX ·

Crowned bust to left surrounded by the legend, the value XII behind.

Rev. a. QVÆ · DEVS · CONIVNXIT · NEMO · SEPARET ·

b. QVÆ · DEVS · CONIVNXIT · NEMO · SEPARET

c. QVÆ · DEVS · CONIVNXIT · NEMO · SEPARET

d. QVÆ · DEVS · CONIVNXIT · NEMO · SEPARET ·

e. QVÆ · DEVS · CONIVNXIT · NEMO · SEPARET ·

f. QVÆ · DEVS · CONIVNXIT · NEMO · SEPARET

Crowned shield between crowned C R.

Die varieties

	<i>Obverse initial-mark</i>	<i>Reverse initial-mark</i>	<i>Symbols above reverse crown</i>	<i>Harp</i>	<i>Legends</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1	Leaved thistle	None	None	Small (6 mm wide)	a/a	F after obverse legend; lozenge stops. B. 42, R. 69
2	"	Leaved thistle	F and a point	"	b/b	The three points before CAROLVS have been struck over a suppressed thistle. BM, NMAS (ex Lockett)
3	"	"	"	"	c/c	Often flaws at X of REX and P of SEPARET; large lettering on reverse. NMAS (1968)
4	"	"	"	"	c/d	Points instead of lozenges below C R on reverse. B. 44, R. 72
5	"	"	F and a lozenge	"	c/c	Large lettering on reverse. NMAS (1952)
6	"	"	F and a point	Large (7 mm wide)	c/c	Same obv. die as 5; small lettering on reverse; harp slightly double-punched. B. 43, R. 71
7	"	None	None	"	a/a	Plain inner circles; coarser work. F after obv. legend. R. 70
8	"	Leaved thistle	F and a point	"	c/e	Small lettering on reverse. Murray (ex Lockett)
9	"	"	F and a 5-pointed star	"	d/f	Points instead of lozenges below C R; colon before CAROLVS struck over a suppressed thistle; flaw at A of SEPARET. Murray

SIX-SHILLING PIECE (Plate IV, No. 27)

1 *Obv.* CAROLVS · D · G · MAG · BRIT · FRAN · ET · HIB · REX

Crowned bust to left surrounded by the legend, the value vi behind. I.m. leaved thistle.

Rev. QVÆ · DEVS · CONIVNXIT · NEMO · SEPAR

Crowned shield between crowned C R; F and a point above crown, i.m. leaved thistle. R. 74.

2 *Obv.* CAROLVS · D · G · MAG · BRIT · FR · ET · HIB · REX

As 1.

Rev. QVÆ · DEVS · CONIVNXIT · NEMO · SEPAR

As 1, but no i.m. Corded inner circles both sides. B. 45, R. 73.

TWENTY-PENNY PIECE (Plate IV, No. 42)

Obv. Crowned bust to left surrounded by the legend, the value xx behind.

Rev. Crowned two-leaved thistle.

*Obverses**Remarks*

1. With i.m. lozenge.

a. CAR · D · G · SCOT · ANG · FR · ET · HIB · R

R. 76

b. CAR · D · G · SCOT · ANG · FR · & · HIB · R

B. 48, 49, R. 78, 79

c. CAR · D · G · MAG · BRIT · FRAN · ET · HIB · R

Murray

d. CAR · D · G · MAGN · BRIT · FRAN · ET · HI · R

B. 47, R. 77

2. Without a lozenge.

e. CAR · D · G · SCOT · ANG · FR · & · HIB · R

No point after CAR. R. 80

f. CAR · D · G · SCOT · ANG · FR · ET · HIB · R

Murray

Reverses

a. IVSTITIA · THRONVM · FIRMAT · ^m

B. 48

b. IVSTITIA · THRONVM · FIRMAT

F and a point above crown. B. 47, 49, R. 77, 79, 80

c. IVSTITIA · TRONVM · FIRMAT

F above crown to left; TRONVM. B. 46, R. 76

d. IVST · THRONVM · FIRMAT

F above crown to left. R. 78

Falconer's anonymous issue**THIRTY-SHILLING PIECE** (Plate III, No. 17)

Obv. a. CAROLVS · D · G · MAG · BRIT · AN · FRAN · ET · HIB · REX

b. · CAROLVS · D · G · MAG · BRIT · FRAN · ET · HIB · REX ·

c. CAROLVS · D · G · MAG · BRIT · FRAN · & · HIB · REX

d. · CAROLVS · D · G · MAG · BRIT · FRAN · & · HIB · REX ·

e. · CAROLVS · D · G · MAG · BRIT · FRAN · & · HIB · REX ·

The king on horseback to left.

Rev. a. QVÆ · DEVS · CONIVNXIT · NEMO · SEPAR^T

b. QVÆ · DEVS · CONIVNXIT · NEMO · SEPAR^ET ·

c. QVÆ · DEVS · CONIVNXIT · NEMO · SEPAR^ET ·

d. QVÆ · DEVS · CONIVNXIT · NEMO · SEPAR^ET ·

Crowned shield.

Die varieties

	<i>Obverse initial-mark</i>	<i>Reverse initial-mark</i>	<i>Size of harp</i>	<i>Legends</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1	Leaved thistle	None	Small (6 mm wide)	<i>a/a</i>	Small crown above obv. i.m. and two small crowns above reverse crown. Large lettering on reverse. B. —
2	„	Thistle-head	Medium (6½ mm wide)	<i>b/b</i>	Large lettering on reverse. Often flaws in English arms, below harp and below upper lion. B. 50, R. 81
3	„	„	Small	<i>c/c</i>	Large lettering on reverse. B. 52, R. 83
4	„	„	Medium	<i>d/b</i>	Small lettering on reverse. Harp slightly double-punched. B. 51
5	„	„	Large (8 mm wide)	<i>d/b</i>	Small lettering on reverse. B. 51 var., R. 82
6	„	„	Small	<i>e/d</i>	Two small leaved thistles above reverse crown. Large lettering on reverse. NMAS (1954. 385)

TWELVE-SHILLING PIECE (Plate III, No. 23)

Obv. · CAROLVS · D · G · MAG · BRIT · FRAN · & · HIB · REX ·

Crowned bust to left surrounded by the legend, the value xii behind.

Rev. *a.* QVÆ · DEVS · CONIVNXIT · NEMO · SEPARET^T

b. QVÆ · DEVS · CONIVNXIT · NEMO · SEPARET ·

Crowned shield between crowned C R.

Die varieties

	<i>Obverse initial-mark</i>	<i>Reverse initial-mark</i>	<i>Size of harp</i>	<i>Reverse legend</i>	<i>Size of letters</i>	<i>Reference</i>
1	Leaved thistle	Thistle-head	Small (6 mm wide)	<i>a</i>	Large	B. 53
2	Thistle-head	„	„	<i>b</i>	Small	B. 54
3	„	„	Large (7 mm wide)	<i>b</i>	Small	R. 84

SIX-SHILLING PIECE (Plate IV, No. 28)

Obv. CAROLVS · D · G · MAG · BRIT · FR · ET · HIB · REX ·

Crowned bust to left surrounded by the legend, the value vi behind. I.m. leaved thistle.

Rev. QVÆ · DEVS · CONIVNXIT · NEMO · SEPARET

Crowned shield between crowned C R. I.m. thistle-head. B. 55.

TWENTY-PENNY PIECE (Plate IV, No. 43)

Obv. Crowned bust to left surrounded by the legend, the value xx behind.

Rev. Crowned two-leaved thistle.

Obverses

1. With i.m. lozenge.

a. CAR · D · G · SCOT · ANG · FR · & · HIB · R

b. CAR · D · G · · · HIB · R

c. CAR · D · G · · · HIB · R ·

d. CAR · D · G · · · & · HIB · R

e. CAR · D · G · · · HIB · R

f. CAR · D · G · MAG · BRIT · FRAN · ET · HIB · R

2. Without a lozenge.

g. · CAR · D · G · SCOT · ANG · FR · & · HIB · R ·

h. CAR · D · G · · · HIB · R ·

i. CAR · D · G · G · · · HIB · R ·

Remarks

B. 56, R. 85

R. 86

No point after HIB. NMAS (1968)

No point after &. NMAS (1968)

No point after CAR. B. 57

NMAS (1968)

R. 87

B. —, R. 88

Murray

	<i>Remarks</i>
j. CAROLVS · D · G · SCOT · ANG · FR · & · HIB · R ·	B. 58, R. 89
k. CAROLVS · D · G ·	No point after &. NMAS (1968)
l. CAROLVS · D · G ·	Murray

Reverses

a. IVST · THRONVM · FIRMAT ·	B. 56, 58, R. 85, 89
b. · IVST ·	B. 57, R. 86, 87
c. IVST	No points between words. B. —, R. 88

FOURTH COINAGE

THREE-SHILLING PIECE (Plate IV, No. 44)

- Obv.* a. · CAR · D · G · SCOT · ANG · FRAN · & · HIB · R · (one die seen)
 b. CAR ·
- Crowned bust to left surrounded by the legend, a thistle behind.
- Rev.* a. · SALVS · REIP · SVPR · LEX · (three dies seen)
 b. SALVS REIP SVPR LEX (no points between words; one die seen)
 Crowned shield.

Die varieties. a/a 1. B. 67. 2. R. 96. 3. Lockett. a/b B. 68, R. 97. b/b BM.

TWO-SHILLING PIECE

Type 1 (Plate IV, No. 45)

- Obv.* CAR · D · G · MAG · BRIT · FRAN · ET · HIB · R
 Crowned bust to left to edge of coin; no mark of value; B below bust.
- Rev.* · IVST · THRONVM · FIRMAT ·
 Crowned shield. B. 63, R. 91, Ashmolean.

Type 2

- Obv.* Crowned bust to left surrounded by the legend, the value II behind.
Rev. Crowned shield.

(i) With large II (3 mm high) (Plate IV, No. 46)

- Obv.* CAR · D · G · SCOT · ANG · FRAN · & · HIB · R ·
 Three dies seen: 1. BM, B. 64, 65, R. 93. 2. R. 94. 3. Murray.
- Rev.* a. · IVST · THRONVM · FIRMAT · (fleurs-de-lis insignificant)
 Two dies seen: 1. BM, B. 64, R. 93. 2. Murray.
 b. IVST · THRONVM · FIRMAT · (fleurs-de-lis fully rendered)
 One die seen: B. 65, R. 94.

(ii) With small II (2 mm high) (Plate IV, No. 47)

Four pairs of dies seen:

- a. CAR · D · G · SCOT · ANG · FR · & · HIB · R ·
 IVST · THRONVM · FIRMAT ·
 Has the same reverse die as (i) b. Murray
- b. CAR · D · G · SCOT · ANG · FR · & · HIB · R ·
 IVST · THRONVM · FIRMAT
 R. 95.
- c. · CAR · D · G · SCOT · ANG · FR · & · HIB · R ·
 · IVST · THRONVM · FIRMAT ·
 Murray.
- d. CAR · D · G · SCOT · AN · FR · & · HIB · R ·
 IVST · THRONVM · FIRMAT ·
 BM, B. 66.



1



4



2



5



3



6



8



7



9



11



10



12



CHARLES I, SCOTTISH COINS (gold)



13



18



14



19



15



20



16



21



22



17



23





CHARLES I, SCOTTISH COINS (silver) (2)

THE ENGLISH SILVER CROWNS OF JAMES I

A STUDY OF THE DIES AND DIE COMBINATIONS

F. R. COOPER

(Plates V–VIII)

IN offering this paper to the Society, the author is not aware that any detailed inquiry into the dies and die combinations of the English silver crowns of James I has hitherto been attempted. The whole of the English silver coinage of this reign, which was struck at the Tower Mint, formed the subject of an impressive monograph read before the society in 1907 (*BNJ*, vol. iv) by Lt.-Col. H. W. Morrieson, to which some further notes were added by him five years later (*BNJ*, vol. ix). In these papers the coinage was divided into three periods, and the mint-marks used in each period were tabulated. But it was not his object to describe the different varieties as Grant R. Francis later undertook in 1915 for the Tower Crowns of Charles I (*BNJ*, vol. xii), a series more recently examined by the author (*BNJ*, vol. xxxvii).

Hence with no such legacy the present study has been based upon the catalogues of the more important sales in recent decades, the author's own collection, and a scrutiny of the great museum collections. It cannot be supposed that all extant varieties have been brought to light, but it is hoped that the number of omissions is relatively small.

2. Morrieson's classification of the silver coinage in general, and the crowns in particular, corresponds with the three different issues of the gold coinage. The first period commenced in May 1603 and terminated in October 1604 with the change in the title of James I from King of England and Scotland, to King of Great Britain. The second period continued until July 1619, when the types and weights of the gold coinage were altered by proclamation some time after the appointment of William Holle as Chief Engraver to the Mint. The third period continued until the end of the reign in March 1625. It is now customary to use the word coinage for each period.

This basic classification, subdivided according to mint-mark, provides a chronological sequence which is adhered to throughout this paper.

3. The crown pieces depict on the obverse the king on a walking horse facing right, and on the reverse a garnished shield displaying the royal arms. For the first time the coins showed the arms of Scotland in the second quarter; those of Ireland in the third; and the arms of France and England, quarterly, in the first and fourth quarters. Both designs are surrounded by a legend, and the general outline of the series can be set out thus:

First coinage

Obv. The king riding a horse with crown and rose on housing; plain ground-line below.

Legend reads: ·IACOBVS·D·G·Y·ANG·Y·SCO·Y·FRAN·Y

ET·HIB·Y·REX·

Rev. A square-topped shield, with decoration.

Legend reads: ·EXVRGAT·DEVS·DISSIPENTVR·INIMICI·

Mm. Thistle, lis.

Second coinage

- Obv.* Similar to first coinage, but legend reads:
 · IACOBVS · D^YG^Y MAG^Y BRIT^Y FRAN^Y ET · HIB^Y REX ·
- Rev.* Similar to first coinage, but legend reads:
 · QUÆ · DEVS · CONIVNXIT · NEMO · SEPARET ·
- Mm.* Lis, rose, escallop, grapes. (The lis is smaller than on the first coinage.)

Third coinage

- Obv.* The king as before, but with smaller crown and rose on housing. Legend as for second coinage, but with colon stops after abbreviations only. On one die, with mint-mark lis, there is grass above the ground-line, and the legend reads BRI instead of BRIT.
- Rev.* Similar to second coinage, but the Scottish lion in the second quarter of the shield is smaller, and with three single exceptions the legend is without stops. Two dies have a smaller shield with a plume above to denote coins struck from Welsh silver; the harp on these is bird-headed.
- Mm.* Rose, thistle, lis, trefoil. (The rose, sometimes called 'seeded' rose, and lis are larger than on the second coinage; for the variety with the former mint-mark also known with thistle over-struck, dies characteristic of the second coinage were used.)

It might be suggested that, as two distinct mint-marks 'rose' are found on dies of the second coinage, the smaller rose might well have followed the larger or 'seeded' variety. But the existence of strikings from dies with mint-marks grapes and thistle over the smaller and larger roses respectively helps to fix their relative order without reference to any evidence from other denominations of this coinage.

4. Table A contains a list of the thirty-three varieties that have been traced and recorded in this paper. To identify any particular one the whole series has been numbered within each mint-mark for each of the three coinages, e.g. first coinage, thistle, nos. 1 to 8; second coinage, grapes, nos. 1 to 3. The dies have been given roman numerals, separately for obverses and reverses, and asterisks are used to indicate mint-marks which have been over-struck.

The above system of numbering will enable additional varieties to be included with the appropriate coinage and mint-mark; additional dies could be interpolated by using a suffix to follow the recorded die to which they most closely approximate.

A main provenance is stated for each variety except where special notes have been appended for a dozen of those which seem to be the rarest.

5. Table B comprises diagrams showing how the dies link up to form the varieties listed in Table A. From the dates provided for each mint-mark it will be observed that there is a long gap in the series between the coins with mint-mark grapes (1607) and those with mint-mark rose (1620/1), although the report of the trial of the Pyx on 17 May 1609 suggests that crowns with mint-mark coronet were struck; Morrieson mentions this in his further notes, already alluded to, but no example appears to have survived, and the mint-mark is not recorded by Snelling¹ or later writers. In the other intervening years crowns were absent partly, no doubt, because the amounts of coined silver were very small owing to the scarcity of the metal.

¹ *A View of the Silver Coin and Coinage of England, 1762.*

Dotted lines are used where mint-marks have been overstruck for use in a subsequent period.

Within each mint-mark the order of the dies, and thus of the coin varieties, has been determined wherever possible by the cross-linkages having regard also to any overstriking with a subsequent mint-mark. But there are examples, e.g. reverses II and III, where the order is quite arbitrary in the absence of any consistent indications of style. The two reverse dies with plume over shield (XVI and XIX) follow the other dies bearing the same mint-mark.

6. Table C consists of notes on all the obverse and reverse dies for the purpose of underlining their distinguishing features, especially where more than one die bears the same mint-mark. In the plates (V to VIII) where the numeration is preserved every die is illustrated with the exception of two which, although authenticated, have not been obtained. Additional illustrations are provided to show the appearance of dies with mint-marks overstruck including, incidentally, the two mentioned in the last sentence.

To check any particular coin it is suggested that a collector should first refer to the plates so as to establish the identity both of obverse and reverse dies. Reference back to Table A will enable the variety to be verified unless it is unlisted. The author will be grateful for information about dies or varieties unrecorded in this paper.

Examination of the plates reveals an interesting feature of the first coinage dies: obverses I to III, and reverses I to V. Throughout these examples the letter A in the legends has the slanted apex¹ associated on Charles I issues with the engraver Nicholas Briot. As the latter was born in 1580 and is not known to have been in England before 1625, it would appear that the so-called 'Briot' A owes its origin to an earlier engraver and possibly a member of the same family.²

Reverse dies XIV to the end exhibit the smaller Scottish lion which, in the words of H. Montagu in a note on the later issues of James I: 'not I hope owing to its longer sojourn in English territory had shrunk to one-half its former size.'³ On dies XVI and XIX the smaller shield surmounted by the Welsh plume naturally introduced a difficult problem in the representation of a still smaller lion. But it was overcome, slightly differently in each case, by a fine piece of engraving, the only objection to which might be that the lion looks rather hungry.

7. Table D is based on a paper by Henry Symonds on the 'Mint-marks and Denominations of the Coinage of James I as Disclosed by the Trials of the Pyx' (*BNJ*, vol. ix). The dates selected are of those trials which recorded the presence of five-shilling pieces in the box.

8. As in the author's study of the Tower crowns of Charles I (op. cit.) an attempt has been made to gauge the relative scarcity of the three different coinages here under examination, and of the several mint-marks. This has likewise been deduced from the holdings of five major museum collections together with those of Lingford and Lockett.

¹ This feature has also been observed on a half-crown of the series.

² The author is indebted to Mons. H. Schneider for comments about Nicholas Briot, and to Dr. J. P. C.

Kent on other aspects of this question. The latter was able to exhibit a Henry IV double of 1595 clearly showing a 'Briot' type of A.

³ *NC*, 3rd ser., vol. x, p. 273.

A summary of the total number of coins is shown hereunder:

	<i>Total for mint-mark</i>	<i>Total for coinage</i>	<i>Number of varieties represented</i>
1st coinage			
Thistle	12		
Lis/thistle	8	20	7
2nd coinage			
Lis	6		
Rose	6		
Escallop	5		
Grapes/rose	6	23	9
3rd coinage			
Rose	1		
Thistle/rose	3		
Thistle	10		
Lis	17		
Trefoil/lis	13		
Trefoil (obv. over lis)	6		
Trefoil	2	52	14
	—	95	30

In Table E are details of the seven named collections as recorded by the author.

Included above are twenty-one coins comprising four varieties struck from Welsh silver, i.e. with plume over shield on the reverse:

3rd coinage: mint-mark thistle	5 (two varieties)
„ lis	7
„ trefoil/lis	9

One hesitates to draw conclusions from the relatively small number of coins tabulated. In the first coinage the six different varieties represented in the collections with mint-mark thistle have combined to produce a total of twelve specimens, but coins with this mint-mark are quite rare. Apart from this the double-figure aggregates for three mint-marks from the third coinage seem to reflect the relative frequency with which such varieties are encountered; they include all the coins struck from Welsh silver.

Information about holdings of James I crowns was also obtained from the following:

Blackburn Museum, Hart collection
 National Museum of Ireland, Dublin
 Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh
 Grosvenor Museum, Chester
 City Museum, Leeds
 Manchester Museum, Raby cabinet
 City of Salford Museum
 Ulster Museum.

9. About the engravers of the series now examined not a great deal requires to be said. The accession of James I in 1603 found Charles Anthony as Chief Graver with John Baptist van Landen the under-Graver. Charles Anthony, who was displaced for some years by Nicholas Hilliard,¹ the famous miniaturist, died in 1615 and was followed by his son Thomas. On the death of the latter in 1618 the next Chief Graver was William

¹ Sir John Craig, *The Mint* (C.U.P., 1953, p. 131).

Holle (Hole or Holles) who was responsible for the new types of gold coinage in the following year. But Holle did not live long, and from letters patent dated September 1624 we learn that he had died and had been succeeded in midsummer of that year by John Gilbert and Edward Greene jointly.¹

The silver crowns of James I, the design of which remained basically unchanged throughout the reign, must thus be attributed to the two artists, Charles Anthony² and John Baptist van Landen. In the design of the equestrian portrait the former may well have been influenced by his father, Derick, who executed a somewhat similar portrait of Edward VI in 1551 shortly after his appointment to the post which passed direct to his son nearly fifty years later. Although the third coinage which dates from 1619 was considered by Morrieson³ to be of coarser workmanship, and hence the product of another engraver, no evidence has been traced to show it was the work of Holle. In the crown series there seems little inferiority, although on some third-coinage dies the lettering is very untidy. Possibly also due to wear of the main puncheon the equestrian portrait shows less detail; but third-coinage strikings are generally bolder and in higher relief than those of the first and second coinages. It will further be noted that with some of the third-coinage reverses the placing and the proportion of the shield are not well thought out. Nevertheless it is difficult to make general comparisons when many die impressions are known only in a poor state of preservation.

It is reasonable to suppose that the relatively minor alterations made in the second- and third-coinage crowns were carried out with the help of under-Gravers or assistants. The former included John Rutlinger who worked with van Landen until the death (or retirement) of the latter in 1606. From that date Rutlinger and John Dycher were *inferiores sculptores* until the demise of the former in 1609, after which Dycher for some ten years worked without a junior colleague. In 1620 Dycher was followed by Charles Greene.⁴

The wastage, chiefly from mortality, among engravers in the first quarter of the seventeenth century seems to have been remarkably high.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To the British Museum, the Royal Mint, and the Ashmolean Museum for access to study their collections. To other museums for illustrations of, and information about, their holdings.

To Messrs. A. H. Baldwin & Sons, Ltd., B. A. Seaby Ltd., and Spink & Son Ltd., also to their representatives personally, for assistance and co-operation in making stock available for inspection.

To collectors and students, in particular to Dr. E. A. Johnstone, who willingly provided information, and exchanged views of material benefit to the author.

To the museums that let me have plaster casts of their coins, and permission to reproduce them, as detailed at the foot of Table C.

¹ H. Symonds: *English Mint Engravers of the Tudor and Stuart Periods* (NC, 4th ser., vol. xiii, *passim*).

² Miss Helen Farquhar: *Portraiture of our Stuart Monarchs on their Coins and Medals* (BNJ, vol. v) quoting *Calendar of Domestic State Papers*, 25 May 1603, 'To Sir Thomas Knyvet, Warden: we are determined to proceed with the moneys wrought by warrant

of the late Queen viz . . . you are to order Charles Antony graver of our mint to cause to be graven irons needful for striking our said moneys, and we authorize you to take up skilful engravers for the said works within our Tower of London.'

³ BNJ vol. iv, p. 166.

⁴ H. Symonds, *op. cit*

TABLES

- A. List of varieties
 B. Diagrams showing obverse and reverse dies for each variety
 C. Brief notes on obverse and reverse dies
 D. Reports on Trials of the Pyx
 E. Holdings of seven major collections

TABLE A

List of Varieties

(Plates V–VIII)

<i>Coinage and mm.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Die number</i>		<i>Coinage and mm.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Die number</i>	
			<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>				<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
FIRST									
Thistle	1	Note (a)	I	I	SECOND (cont.)				
	2	„ (b)	I	II	Grapes	1	Lingford, 57	V*	VIII*
	3	Lingford, 46	I	III		2	Whitley, 151	V*	IX*
	4	Lockett, 2132	I	IV		3	Note (g)	V*	X*
	5	Note (c)	II	II					
	6	Ashmolean	II	III	THIRD				
	7	Hunterian	II	IV	Rose	1	Note (h)	VII	XIII
	8	Note (d)	III	IV					
Lis	1	Lingford, 49	III*	IV*	Thistle	1	„	VII*	XIII*
	2	Note (e)	III*	V*		2	Note (i)	VIII	XIV
SECOND						3	Lingford, 59	VIII	XV
Lis	1	Lingford, 50	IV	VI		4	Lingford, 60	VIII	XVI
	2	Lockett, 2134	IV	VII		5	Note (j)	IX	XVI
Rose	1	Note (f)	V	VIII	Lis	1	B.M.	X	XVII
	2	Lingford, 53	V	IX		2	Lingford, 62	X	XVIII
						3	Lingford, 63	X	XIX
Escallop	1	Lingford, 54	VI	XI	Trefoil	1	Lingford, 64	X*	XVIII*
	2	Parsons, 396	VI	XII		2	Lingford, 67	X*	XIX*
						3	Lockett, 4117	X*	XX
						4	B.M.	X*	XXI
						5	Note (k)	XI	XXI

Under the heading 'Provenance' references are made to four sale catalogues with the relative lot numbers (which were illustrated), and to three museum collections, i.e.

Ashmolean: Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

B.M.: British Museum.

Hunterian: Hunterian Museum, Glasgow.

The dates of the sales were: Lingford, 1950; Lockett, 1956 and 1960; Parsons, 1954; Whitley, 1956.

With regard to the asterisks denoting mint-marks overstruck, reverse dies V and X each appear to have overstruckings although neither has been recorded in its original state; they have been presumed to conform with the other dies having the same mint-mark, i.e. lis over thistle, and grapes over rose respectively.

The following notes refer to some of the rarer varieties:

- (a) Checkley sale (1965) lot 39.

The reverse of this specimen is untraced elsewhere.

- (b) Ashmolean Museum.

A die combination untraced elsewhere.

- (c) Nightingale sale (1951) lot 29;

Parsons sale (1954) lot 393.

The only two specimens traced with this die combination.

- (d) Lingford sale (1950) lot 48; not illustrated, but established by reference to lot 49, from identical dies (cf. lis, no. 1).

The obverse of this recorded specimen might be unique, but it is well known with mint-mark lis punched over thistle.

- (e) Author's collection; *ex* W. L. Gantz and R. Carlyon-Britton.

The reverse die with mint-mark lis, apparently punched over thistle, is untraced elsewhere.

- (f) Lingford sale (1950) lot 52, not illustrated, but established by reference to lot 57, from identical dies (cf. grapes, no. 1).

The reverse of this recorded specimen might be unique, but it is less rare with mint-mark grapes punched over rose.

- (g) British Museum;

Lockett sale (1956) lot 2137.

The only two specimens found with this reverse die. The condition of the mint-mark (grapes) suggests an overstriking, and this is presumably over rose.

- (h) A very interesting variety which by reason of the mint-mark 'seeded' rose (in use during 1620/21) must be assigned to the third coinage, although both dies are characteristic of the second coinage. Particular features are the stops in the obverse and reverse legends, the large crown and rose on the housing, and the larger Scottish lion in the second quarter of the shield. On the author's specimen (see plate V) the appearance of the obverse mint-mark suggests an overstriking, which could be from a die unknown in its original state. The similarity with obverse die VI (mm. escallop) will be noticed. It has been suggested that only four specimens of this variety are in existence, and the author has found no reason to increase that estimate (see also table E, note).

The above die combination is found also with mint-mark thistle overstruck. Only three specimens have been recorded (see table E, third coinage, thistle 1).

- (i) Whitley sale (1956) lot 152.

The reverse of this specimen is untraced elsewhere.

- (j) Ashmolean Museum.

The obverse of this specimen is untraced elsewhere.

- (k) British Museum.

The only variety known with mint-mark trefoil not struck over lis on the obverse. A specimen was in the Lingford collection (lot 68) but not illustrated.

(Table A is concluded on p. 153.)

TABLE B

Diagrams Showing Obverse and Reverse Dies for Each Variety

MINT MARK	1 ST COINAGE.					2 ND COINAGE.				
	THISTLE (1603-4)					LIS (1604)	LIS (1604-5)	ROSE (1605-6)	ESCALLOP (1606-7)	GRAPES (1607)
OBVERSE DIES.	I	II	III			IV	V	VI		
COIN VARIETIES (AUTHOR'S ENUMERATION)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8					1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2 3
REVERSE DIES	I II III IV			V		VI VII	VIII IX	X XI XII		

Note: Reverse dies V and X have not been recorded without mint marks overstruck.

MINT MARK	3 RD COINAGE.				
	ROSE (1620-1)	THISTLE (1621-3)		LIS (1623-4)	TREFOIL (1624-5)
OBVERSE DIES	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI
COIN VARIETIES (AUTHOR'S ENUMERATION)	1	1 2 3 4 5		1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5
REVERSE DIES	XIII	XIV XV XVI		XVII XVIII XIX	XX XXI

Note: Reverse dies XVI and XIX have a large plume over the shield.

(Table A concluded.)

It will be observed that of the apparently rarer varieties no fewer than four belong to the first mint-mark of the reign (thistle, 1603/4) and it is of interest that three obverses and five reverses have been established. This was a feature also of the Tower crowns of Charles I¹ where the first mint-mark (lis 1625/6) appears on five obverse and four reverse dies. In both cases the number of dies was not equalled for any subsequent mint-mark which suggests that at the commencement of a reign it was the practice to try out minor variations in similar dies, but with what object?

TABLE C

Brief Notes on Obverse and Reverse Dies

(Plates V–VIII)

The obverse dies:

I to III	First coinage
IV to VI	Second coinage
VII to XI	Third coinage

<i>Mint-mark</i>	<i>No.</i>		<i>Remarks</i>
Thistle	I	These three dies exhibit only slight differences, the most obvious of which result from the spacing of the letters in the legend.	
	II		
	III		
		I Ground-line meets foreleg of horse clear of inner beaded circle, opposite the end of N in ANG. Tail of horse ends opposite legend between A and N of FRAN.	
		II Ground-line and foreleg terminate at inner beaded circle but do not meet. AN of FRAN is moved slightly clockwise compared with I.	
		III Ground-line meets foreleg just touching beaded circle opposite G in ANG. Recorded by Lingford but not illustrated. See Table A, note (d).	Also used with mint-mark lis overstruck.
		On the obverse dies of the second and third coinages which now follow it was necessary with one exception to provide an extra letter in the legend: i.e. MAG BRIT instead of ANG SCO; at the same time there was a tendency to spread some of the lettering. This left less space between the beginning and end of the legend, and the mint-mark often appears crowded.	
Lis	IV	Sword point to right foot of x. Ground-line meets foreleg of horse clear of beaded circle opposite G in MAG.	
Rose	V	Sword points to left of centre of x. Ground-line and foreleg of horse do not meet.	Also used with mint-mark grapes overstruck, in which state it shows a flaw across the beaded circle opposite T of BRIT.
Escallop	VI	Sword points between E and x. Tail of horse ends opposite R in FRAN. Foreleg of horse points to A.	

¹ See author's paper (op. cit.).

<i>Mint-mark</i>	<i>No.</i>		<i>Remarks</i>
'Seeded' rose	VII	Sword points between e and x. Foreleg of horse points to G. Although showing a third coinage mint-mark this die clearly belongs to the second coinage, and this larger rose may have been struck over escallop or grapes on a die not now recorded.	Also used with mint-mark thistle overstruck.
Thistle	VIII	Sword points to right foot of x. Tail of horse cuts beaded circle opposite N of FRAN.	
	IX	Sword points to right foot of x. Tail of horse touches beaded circle opposite R of FRAN.	
Lis	X	Reads BRI instead of BRIT. Sword points to left part of x. Grass is conventionally drawn above a ground-line across which in varying degrees is a die flaw down towards beaded circle.	Also used with mint-mark trefoil overstruck.
Trefoil	XI	Sword points to right foot of x. No grass with ground-line. Tail of horse just touches beaded circle opposite F of FRAN.	Appears to read HI instead of HIB.
The Reverse dies:			
		I to V First coinage	
		VI to XII Second coinage	
		XIII to XXI Third coinage	
Thistle	I to V	Strikings of these dies are easier to distinguish if one concentrates on the point of the shield in relation to the inner beaded circle, and the spacing of the earlier letters in DISSIPENTVR. These differences are indicated below:	
		I Point of shield touches beaded circle to left of second s. Mint-mark to left of centre.	
		II Point of shield touches beaded circle between first and second s. Mint-mark central.	
		III Point of shield is clear of beaded circle, and is directed to left of second s. Pellets at beginning and end of legend are further apart than on I. Mint-mark to left of centre.	
		IV Point of shield intersects beaded circle opposite second s. Mint-mark to left of centre. Flaw in field above left-hand corner of shield.	Also used with mint-mark lis overstruck.
		V Point of shield touches beaded circle between second s and i. Mint-mark central.	Recorded only with mint-mark lis punched over thistle.
Lis	VI	Point of shield touches beaded circle between x and i. Pellets at beginning and end of legend are close.	
	VII	Point of shield touches beaded circle to left of i. Pellets not so close as on VI.	
Rose	VIII	Point of shield is clear of beaded circle and is directed between x and i. Pellets at beginning and end of legend are not so close as on IX below. Recorded by Lingford but not illustrated. See Table A, note (f).	Also used with mint-mark grapes overstruck in which condition a prominent flaw appears by v of DEVS.

<i>Mint-mark</i>	<i>No.</i>		<i>Remarks</i>
Rose	IX	Point of shield just touches beaded circle above x. Pellets are closer than on VIII. Decoration at left hand top corner of shield is directly opposite a.	Also used with mint-mark grapes overstruck.
	X	Point of shield is clear of beaded circle and is directed to right of x. Decoration at left hand top corner of shield lies within the segment formed by AR.	
Escallop	XI	Point of shield is clear of beaded circle, and is directed to left of centre of x.	Mint-mark and some lettering is smaller than on die XI.
	XII	Point of shield is clear of beaded circle, and is directed nearer to i than x. Pellets at beginning and end of legend are closer than on die XI.	
'Seeded' rose	XIII	Point of shield is clear of beaded circle, and is directed between x and i. This die belongs to the second coinage in view of the single stops in the legend and the larger Scottish lion in the second quarter of the shield.	Also used with mint-mark thistle overstruck.
Thistle	XIV	Point of shield touches beaded circle between i and r.	
	XV	Point of shield intersects beaded circle to left of r. Letters of SEPARET are widely spread.	
	XVI	Point of smaller shield, with plume above, is clear of beaded circle. Centre line of shield is directed to r. Harp is bird-headed.	
Lis	XVII	Point of shield cuts beaded circle above i.	Also used with mint-mark trefoil overstruck.
	XVIII	Stop after SEPARET. Point of shield cuts beaded circle above i, which letter is displaced. Flaw in field to right of shield near top.	
	XIX	Point of smaller shield, with plume above, touches beaded circle above x. Harp is bird-headed.	Also used with mint-mark trefoil overstruck, and mostly showing slight flaw to left of harp.
Trefoil	XX	Stop after SEPARET. Point of shield cuts beaded circle at right hand tip of x.	
	XXI	Stop after SEPARET. Point of shield cuts beaded circle just to left of i.	

The author is indebted to the following for kindly furnishing plaster casts to enable illustrations to be made, and for permission to reproduce them:

The Ashmolean Museum:

Obverse dies: I; IX; X; X, overstruck.

Reverse dies: II; XVI; XVII; XVIII, overstruck.

The British Museum:

Obverse die: XI.

Reverse dies: VII; X, overstruck.

The Syndicate of the Fitzwilliam Museum:

Obverse die: VII, overstruck.

Reverse die: XIII, overstruck.

Illustrations of two dies have not been traced:

Obverse III, mint-mark thistle, not overstruck (Lingford lot 48).

Reverse VIII, mint-mark rose (Lingford lot 52).

TABLE D

Reports on Trials of the Pyx(based on a paper by H. Symonds: *BNJ*, vol. ix)

<i>Date of trial</i>	<i>Coinage no.</i>	<i>Mint-mark</i>	<i>Months in use</i>	<i>Amount of English silver in Pyx</i>			<i>Remarks</i>
				£	s.	d.	
22 May 1604	1	Thistle	12	129	15	3½	
20 June 1605	1	Lis	5	105	15	6½	
"	2	Lis	8	92	14	1½	
10 July 1606	2	Rose	13	154	13	3	
30 June 1607	2	Escallop	12	75	0	10	
11 Nov. 1607	2	Grapes	4	26	9	6	
17 May 1609	2	Coronet	18	67	2	5½	No specimen traced, see text, para. 5.
8 June 1621	3	Rose	11½	3	11	8	'Only one crown in the Pyx.'
3 July 1623	3	Thistle	25	26	7	7	
17 June 1624	3	Lis	11½	-	-	-	Amount omitted.
7 July 1625	3	Trefoil	13	49	8	2	

During the eleven years when no crown pieces were recorded as having been struck, the total of English silver reported as found in the Pyx amounted only to £49. 14s. 6d.

Spelling of the seventeenth century, e.g. flower de lewce, skallopp shell, has been replaced by modern forms.

It was unusual for the report on the trial in June 1621 to record that only one crown was found in the box, although the amount of silver coined during the previous year must have been relatively small. Of the four specimens now believed to exist it is interesting to conjecture whether one actually survived the trial. See also Table A, note (h).

TABLE E

Holdings of Seven Major Collections

<i>Coinage and mint-mark</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>British Museum</i>	<i>Royal Mint</i>	<i>Ashmolean</i>	<i>Fitzwilliam</i>	<i>Hunterian</i>	<i>Lingford</i>	<i>Lockett</i>
1 Thistle	1							
	2			*				
	3	*					*	
	4	*						*
	5							
	6			*	*(2)		*	
	7					*(2)		
	8						*	
Lis	1	*	*		*(3)	*	*	*
	2							
2 Lis	1	*			*		*	
	2	*					*(?)	*
Rose	1						*	
	2	*				*	*	*
Escallop	1	*					*	*
	2					*	*(?)	

<i>Coinage and mint-mark</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>British Museum</i>	<i>Royal Mint</i>	<i>Ashmolean</i>	<i>Fitzwilliam</i>	<i>Hunterian</i>	<i>Lingford</i>	<i>Lockett</i>
Grapes	1		*				*	
	2	*					*	
	3	*						*
3 Rose	1	*						*
Thistle	1	*			*			*
	2						*(?)	
	3	*	*				*	*
	4	*				*	*	*
	5			*				
Lis	1	*	*			*	*(?)	
	2	*		*		*(2)	*	*
	3	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Trefoil	1			*		*	*	*
	2	*(2)		*	*(2)	*(2)	*	*
	3						*(?)	*
	4	*	*				*(?)	*
	5	*					*(?)	

NOTES: Seven coins recorded by Lingford, but not illustrated in his sale catalogue, have been equated with varieties similarly described which have been traced in other collections; these are indicated by a question mark. It is by no means inconceivable that one or more of these coins might prove to be an additional variety.

Numbers in brackets denote the holding of more than one specimen.

Three varieties of the 1st coinage: thistle, nos. 1 and 5; lis, no. 2, are not represented above. See Table A, notes (a), (c), and (e).

The specimen of the third coinage, mint-mark rose, now in the British Museum, came from the Lockett collection, as shown.

(The numeration and mint marks follow tables A, B and C)



I thistle



II thistle

Untraced

III thistle



III lis/thistle



IV lis



V rose



V grapes/rose



VI escallop



VII rose ('seeded')



VII thistle/rose



VIII thistle



IX thistle



X lis



X trefoil/lis



XI trefoil



I thistle



II thistle



III thistle



IV thistle



IV lis/thistle



V lis/thistle



VI lis



VII lis

Untraced

VIII rose



VIII grapes/rose



IX rose



IX grapes/rose



X grapes/rose



XI escallop



XII escallop



XIII rose ('seeded')



XIII thistle/rose



XIV thistle



XV thistle



XVI thistle



XVII lis

REVERSE DIES (concluded)



XVIII lis



XVIII trefoil/lis



XIX lis



XIX trefoil/lis



XX trefoil

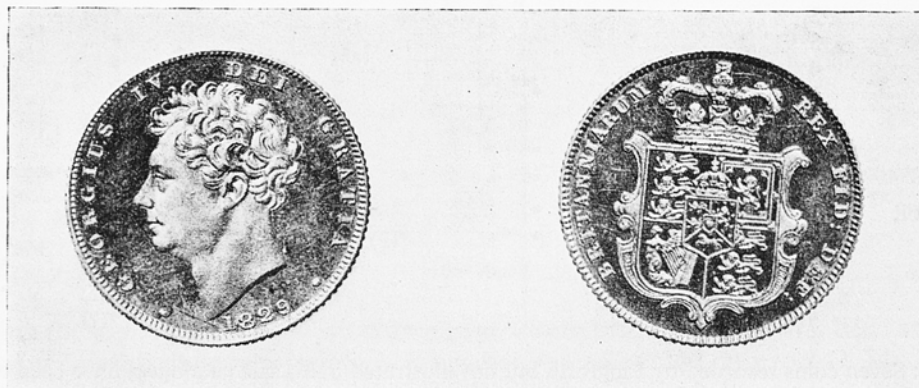


XXI trefoil

JAMES I, ENGLISH CROWNS (4)

THE 1829 HALF-SOVEREIGN

R. A. FAREY, B.SC.



Enlarged $\times 2$.

Photograph by courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum.

THE records of the Royal Mint indicate that 4,205 half-sovereigns were struck during 1829. In the standard text *Gold Coins of England*, R. L. Kenyon¹ commented that since none were known dated 1829 all must have been struck from dies dated 1828. Reference is made in *The Milled Coinage of England*² by Spink to a half-sovereign dated 1829 on the obverse but with the type and date of the 1823 issue. It has previously been accepted that there was no half-sovereign of the normal type, consisting of the bare head on the obverse with the legend *GEORGIUS IV DEI GRATIA* (date), and a crowned garnished shield on the reverse with the legend *BRITANNIARUM REX FID: DEF:*, bearing the date 1829.

Such a coin does exist, however, in the Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. This half-sovereign came to the Ashmolean with the collection formed in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and an examination of correspondence shows it to be one coin in a consignment of coins struck in 1891 from original dies including that of 1829 in response to a request made by E. B. Nicholson, Bodley's Librarian. Only letters from the Royal Mint to Nicholson exist but from these it is apparent that as early as 29 November 1889, Nicholson was inquiring into the possibility of the Mint supplying such coins of the current and previous reigns as were needed to complete sets at the Bodleian. The way for such proceedings was paved by the official reply dated 6 December 1889 and reproduced in the appendix to this paper.³ Evidently the 1829 half-sovereign was on a list enclosed with a letter from Nicholson dated 8 February 1891. The reply dated 16 February 1891 contains a list of the coins that the Mint was prepared to supply

¹ R. L. Kenyon, *Gold Coins of England*, Bernard Quaritch, London, 1884, p. 201.

² Spink & Son, Ltd., *The Milled Coinage of England*

1662–1946, Spink & Son, Ltd., London, 1950, p. 50.

³ Correspondence records in the Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

together with their nominal values. Unfortunately the relevant entry is recorded simply as:

		£	s.	d.
George IV	2 sovereigns	2	—	—
	4 half sovereigns	2	—	—

It is possible, however, to determine the identity of the coins referred to because of the preservation in the records of the actual envelopes in which the coins were sent from the Royal Mint. Each envelope bears details of the coin contained and one has the inscription:

Half-Sovereign
1829.

The 1829 half-sovereign was then part of the parcel of coins posted to the Bodleian Library on the afternoon of the 24 March 1891.

The existence of this specimen leads one to question the extent of restriking activities at the Royal Mint. Other coins in the trays at the Heberden Coin Room have been examined and a table of coins in this parcel deduced from the list sent from the Mint and the envelopes is given in the appendix. Those coins in the list which were not traced in the trays and those examined which show definite cracks in the die used are indicated in the table. The bronze pieces of 1891 were current coins, not restrikes, and the 1824 sovereign is the subject of a note in the letter dated 24 March 1891 which clearly shows that the original dies were used in the restriking. The relevant passage states that 'it was not possible to strike a "Dragon" Sovereign of George IV, as the dies in the Mint are faulty and no longer fit for use'. In this instance a specimen of the required coin was apparently selected from some pre-Victorian sovereigns which had recently been withdrawn from circulation.

Many of the coins are particularly interesting, for example, neither the 1886 sovereign with the Young Head obverse and St. George and the Dragon reverse nor the 1887 sovereign with the Young Head obverse and shield reverse exhibit any trace of a mint-mark. The pattern crown of 1829 would seem to be a mule, having the reverse type one normally associates with the crowns of 1825, 1826, and 1828. It seems clear that the 1829 half-sovereign is the result of a similar mixing of dies; the obverse being that for the 1829 proof sixpence and the reverse that for the 1826 proof half-sovereign.

Although the striking of coins from old dies in the Royal Mint at this time is not unknown, it is probable, as the 1829 half-sovereign was specifically requested, that the coin in the Ashmolean is unique.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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APPENDIX

COPY OF A LETTER FROM C. W. FREMANTLE OF THE ROYAL
MINT TO E. B. NICHOLSON, BODLEY'S LIBRARIAN

6 December 1889

Sir,

I am directed by the Master of the Mint to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 29th ultimo, and in reply to inform you that, with the approval of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, he will be prepared to supply to the Bodleian Library specimens of such current coins of the present and former reigns as you may require, so far as it is possible to do so, on payment of their nominal value. No pattern pieces can be issued from the Mint.

I am to suggest that you should furnish me with a List [*sic*] of the coins required to make up your Collection [*sic*] to the present date, in order that those which it is in the power of the Mint to supply may be struck and forwarded to you.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient Servant,
C. W. FREMANTLE

TABLE OF COINS SUPPLIED BY ROYAL MINT
ON 24 MARCH 1891

GOLD

Sovereign	George IV	1824	Not traced
		1830	Not traced
	William IV Victoria	1837	
		1886	Young head
		1887	Young head
Half-sovereign	George IV	1821	Pattern, cracks on reverse
		1821	Pattern, cracks on reverse
		1823	
		1829	
	William IV	1831	Not traced
		1837	
	Victoria	1887	

SILVER

Crown	George IV	1829	Mule, cracks on reverse
	Victoria	1845	Not traced
Half-crown	George IV	1824	Cracks on reverse
	Victoria	1887	Young head
Florin	Victoria	1887	Gothic bust
Shilling	George IV	1824	Not traced
	Victoria	1887	Young head
Sixpence	George IV	1826	Laureate head
		1829	
	Victoria	1887	Young head
Groat	William IV	1837	
	Victoria	1890	
Threepence	George IV	1828	
	William IV	1837	
	Victoria	1890	

Twopence	William IV	1831
	Victoria	1890
Penny	William IV	1837
	Victoria	1890

BRONZE

Penny	Victoria	1891
Half-penny	Victoria	1891
Farthing	Victoria	1891

MISCELLANEA

MORE FINDS OF CORITANI COINS IN LINCOLNSHIRE

In January of 1970 Mr. Harrison of Winterton had the good fortune to find at Dragonby, two Coritani coins within the one week.

The first and most important was a Stater inscribed ESUP ASU; this is the sixth coin of this type I have recorded and may be described as follows:

Obv.: A crude wreath crossed by a line with crescent-shaped ends, enclosing beaded circles with pellets in the centre.

Rev.: Horse to the left with a star beneath the tail, parts of IISVP and a pellet above, and below ASV

Mack reference: 456B

Weight: 78 grains

Specific gravity: 9.7 (Pl. X, 8).

The second coin is a silver half denomination with the horse to the right; I have recorded some nine other coins in this general type, the horse having an open mouth and no pellets below, but on this coin the traces of the boar on the obverse are more pronounced. It may be described thus:

Obv.: Faint traces of a boar.

Rev.: Maned horse to the right with open mouth, circle of seven pellets above, and a pellet below tail. Die duplicate of a coin found at South Feriby, *BNJ* iii, plate Ancient British Coins, no. 19.

Weight: 8.5 grains.

Mack reference: 454A (Pl. X, 9).

In March of this year, I found on the Owmbly Cliff site a full silver denomination of the inscribed coin V P CORF; this is the third coin I have recorded for this rare type, all of which are from different dies; it varies from the Lockett coin illustrated by Commander Mack as number 464, having a star beneath the tail. It may be described as follows:

Obv.: Portions of a wreath design.

Rev.: Horse to the right with V P above, CO-F below, the F being formed from the front legs of the horse, a star below tail and a pellet under the neck.

Mack reference: 464 variation.

Weight: 17 grains (Pl. X, 10).

In September 1969 the Owmbly Cliff site was deep dragged for the purposes of stubble cleaning. This produced a crop of Roman coins and also a most interesting silver half denomination from the Coritani Tribe, of a type hitherto unrecorded. This coin may be described as follows:

Obv.: Boar to left.

Rev.: Maned horse to right, with open mouth.

A circle of seven joined pellets above, and also above the tail part of a plain ringed ornament. A pellet below the tail.

Weight: 6 grains (Pl. X, 11).

This coin, I feel, should be placed early within the issues of silver coins with the horse to the right and an open mouth.

Mr. Derek Allen has brought to my notice a coin recorded by Stukeley, plate 7, no. 10 in his twenty-three plates of Ancient British Kings. This also shows a boar to the left on the obverse. However, I feel that this coin, if it be Coritanian, may fit into an earlier issue than the one found at Owmbly, but it does serve to remind us that there may be more types of coins to be discovered from the Coritani Tribe.

During the spring workings in 1970 on the fields at Owmbly Cliff, one gold and three silver coins have been found, all from different parts of the site over a period of two months. I was fortunate to find the first three to be described.

No. 1.

An inscribed stater ESUP ASU

Obv.: Traces of a wreath design.

Rev.: Horse to the left, above parts of ESUP showing, below ASU.

Weight: 81.5 grains. (Pl. X, 12).

Specific gravity: 11.3.

Mack reference: 456B.

This is the second coin of this rare type to be found in Lincolnshire this year and is of good quality gold.

No. 2.

May be described as follows:

Obv.: A boar to the right, above a rosette and other ring ornaments, below and behind other ring ornaments.

Rev.: A solid-headed maned horse to the left, above a rosette and ring ornament, and below another ring ornament.

Weight: 16 grains (Pl. X, 13).

This is a full denomination of the silver coin described by Derek Allen in his *Sylloge* of the Coins of the Coritani as belonging to type F; I feel, however, that this coin and four other known coins of this type can now be placed in a separate class.

No. 3.

Is as follows:

Obv.: Slight traces of a wreath design.

Rev.: A solid-headed horse to the right with *ve.* above, and below three pellets, and a pellet below tail.

Weight: 7 grains (Pl. X, 14).

This is a silver half denomination of the coin *VEP*, and is very similar to one found in the excavations at Dragonby.

In the 1968 issues of this *Journal* (p. 190) I described a broken full silver denomination as a possible *VEP* coin; this latest find makes it virtually certain that I was wrong, and so the large fragment must at present remain as an unidentified inscribed coin until another similar is found.

It is also interesting to note that this *VEP* issue can now be fully recognized as separate from those coins inscribed *VEP CORF*.

No. 4.

This last coin may be described as follows:

Obv.: A boar probably to the left, above a wheel with eight spokes and another ring-type ornament, below an annulet enclosing a small pellet and traces of a plain exergual line.

Rev.: A solid-headed maned horse to the left, and above a circle of joined pellets enclosing a pellet.

Weight: 7.7 grains (Pl. X, 15).

This is a most interesting half silver denomination as it shows for the first time a recognizable obverse design to the issue of coins described by Commander R. P. Mack as number 456.

H. R. MOSSOP

A SCEATTA FROM PORTISHEAD, SOMERSET

IN the late summer of 1969 the son of Mr. W. J. Purkiss found in the garden of their house at 57 Wetlands Lane, Portishead (ST 46257540), the sceatta illustrated on p. 164. It has since been acquired by the City Museum, Bristol.

The findspot is about seventy feet above Ordnance Datum and therefore well above the level of the marine transgression of the Late Roman period which probably continued well into the Dark Ages.¹ It is in the immediate vicinity of a sub-Roman or Dark Age cemetery of at least twenty-six graves, excavated during 1969,² and of a Roman site in the grounds of the Gordano Comprehensive School immediately to the east. The house is part of a recently developed housing estate and there is no evidence whatever to

suggest that the coin might have been a collector's stray. It should, however, be noted that about ten feet away was a surface find of a half-groat of James I of England. The sceatta was found about nine inches beneath the surface. The developer's agent confirms that to the best of his knowledge no soil from elsewhere has been brought to the site. It has been thought proper to scrutinize and record the circumstances of finding in this detail as the findspot is on the south-western fringe of the known distribution of coins of this type.³

The sceatta, which is struck in fairly good silver, is of *BMC, Anglo-Saxon Coins*, i (1887), type 16 (cf. plate II, 20), and thus belongs to P. V. Hill's 'London-derived' group.⁴ Not all of this group were necessarily struck in London, but this

¹ B. W. Cunliffe, 'The Somerset Levels in the Roman Period', in *Rural Settlement in Roman Britain*, ed. Charles Thomas (1966).

² *Medieval Archaeology*, forthcoming.

³ Cf. P. V. Hill, 'Saxon Sceattas and their Problems',

BNJ xxvi (1951), p. 130 and Map 1, p. 144. This map needs much addition and revision, but the pattern of distribution is unaltered.

⁴ P. V. Hill, 'The "Standard" and "London" series of Anglo-Saxon Sceattas', *BNJ* xxvi (1952), p. 265.

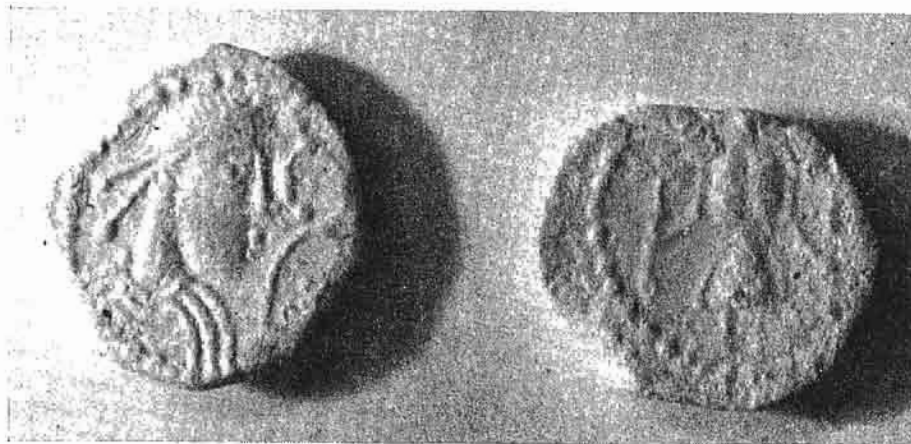


FIG. 1. (Enlarged).

example is technically akin, in the treatment of the eye and nose on the obverse and the drapery on the reverse, to the archetype inscribed clearly *DE LVNDONIA*, and was probably minted in the City. The weight, 0.765 gm. (11.85 gr.) is very light compared with the mean and mode for the group and the two B.M. specimens cited by Hill for this particular type (15.0 and 15.8 gr.),¹ but equally light examples of the group are known and this specimen is corroded and slightly chipped. The widest diameter is 12.5 mm.

Obv.: Diademed bust right, drapery in arcs; 'Floral decoration' of branch twisted to a figure of 8 in front of face.

Rev.: Standing figure with two-lobed 'cuirasse' and flared skirt, carrying cross-staff in right

hand and, on all analogy, also in left, but the head of the staff is corroded and might have been knobbed. The stance can be compared with that of the 'Finglesham Man' on the gilt-bronze brooch from the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Finglesham, Kent.² No 'boat' beneath feet.

This is, in weight, metal, and design, a 'secondary' sceatta. S. E. Rigold has argued that the 'London' series should probably begin c. 730–5;³ this specimen is stylistically not far from the archetype and its date would be c. A.D. 735–40.

The writer is grateful to Mr. S. E. Rigold for valuable assistance in the interpretation of this coin.

L. V. GRINSELL

STEPHEN TYPE VII—A 'NEW' MINT

At the time of writing my paper on Stephen Type VII for this *Journal*⁴ some fourteen years ago there was only one coin which could have been, and which indeed already had been, assigned to the mint of Northampton.

That coin, *BMC*, no. 204 (Fig. 1 opposite),

which very clearly reads **+PÆN:ON**—was assigned by Wells to Northampton, **PÆN** being a well-attested Northampton moneyer in this reign and it is illustrated by him in his paper 'The Northampton and Southampton Mints'.⁵

¹ *BNJ* xxvi (1952), p. 272.

² S. C. Hawkes and others, 'The Finglesham Man', *Antiquity*, xxxix (1965), pp. 17–32.

³ S. E. Rigold, 'The Two Primary series of Sceattas',

BNJ xxx (1960), pp. 6–55, especially pp. 23–4.

⁴ *BNJ* xxviii, part iii (1957), pp. 535–54.

⁵ *BNJ* xx (1929–30), pl. VI, no. 21.

The Moneyer Paen in Stephen Type VII



FIG. 1.

Lincoln

FIG. 2.

FIG. 3.

Northampton

In *BMC* Brooke followed suit but with a query and, as it transpires, his doubts were well founded. As is recorded in my paper mentioned previously, *BMC*, no. 204 is in fact a die duplicate of a coin in the Fitzwilliam Museum (ex Clark, 23: v: 1898, lot 66)¹ and also of one in my own collection (Fig. 2 above) which combine to establish the full reading of the three coins as being **+PÆN:ON:LINCO**. The 'LI' of the mint signature is visible on my coin and the 'CO' on the Fitzwilliam Museum coin; the 'N' is shown on yet a third die duplicate, the existence of which has only just come to my knowledge.

It is significant to note that the Fitzwilliam Museum coin is of course correctly assigned to Lincoln in *BMC*² but the entry is in italics to indicate that Brooke had not himself seen the coin (its then whereabouts being unknown) but that he was prepared to accept the accuracy of the Clark sale catalogue description.

At that time (1916) those were the only two recorded coins of the moneyer **PÆN** in this rare type and, not having seen the coin ex Clark Lot 66 which was not acquired by the Fitzwilliam Museum until 1933, Brooke could not possibly have known of the die-link and recognition of it only came to light subsequent to then. Its recognition has clinched the attribution of *BMC*, no. 204, to Lincoln with the result that, until recently, no other coin which could possibly be assigned

to Northampton has hitherto been known and accordingly I felt that Northampton must be excluded from the list of type VII mints recorded in my paper.

However, it is now apparent that, as might be expected, Northampton is in fact a mint in this type although it is virtually certain that Wells could not have known of the existence of the coin which proves it.

That coin (Fig. 3 above) has only recently come to light (it is now in my collection) and I am sure its significance as an undoubted coin of the Northampton mint has not hitherto been recognized.

It is a poorish specimen and is a typical type VII striking as to legibility (or rather lack of it) but **—ÆN—hT** is clearly visible.

These few letters are only capable of extension to **+PÆN:ON:NORhT** and are, in my opinion, sufficient to establish the attribution to Northampton.

The purpose of this note therefore is to correct my rejection of Northampton as a type VII mint and to record its addition to the tally of thirty-four mints listed in my paper; a tally which incidentally is now increased to thirty-eight by the addition of the mints of Bath, Ilchester, and Rye, which, like Northampton, have only come to light since my paper was written in 1956.

F. ELMORE JONES

¹ *BNJ* xxviii, part iii, pl. XXXI, no. 12.

² *BMC* i, p. ccxix.

UNPUBLISHED FINDS OF THE EARLY 17TH CENTURY FROM STAFFORDSHIRE

IN the most recent listing of coin hoards deposited in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,¹ no hoard deposited in Staffordshire during the fifty years after c. 1603 is included, which is perhaps surprising in view of the hostilities which took place there during the Civil War. A Civil War hoard of unusual composition from Trysull in 1877 has, however, since been published in this journal,² while the present writer is preparing for publication a discovery at Pillaton Hall, Staffs., in 1741 of a purse containing twenty-eight unites, two gold five-shilling pieces, and eighteen Scottish unites. No further details are known of these coins which represent a subsidiary parcel to a larger hoard, which was formed and deposited in the early eighteenth century. The date of their deposition is unknown but it is tolerably certain that they represent casually mislaid coins which may well have been collected and deposited in the first half of the seventeenth century.

The purpose of this note is to place on record two further hoards of the early seventeenth century from Staffordshire, together with a stray find of two coins lost at that time.

*Golden Hill, Oldcot*³ (March 1832). Deposit: probably 1648.

A bag containing silver coins, the total weight of which was about two pounds and which were mainly of the reign of Elizabeth I, together with thirty-six unites of James I and Charles I was found inside the tiering of the roof of an old thatched house in the course of its demolition. Associated with the find was a parochial notice dated 5 July 1648.

John Ward, *History of the Borough of Stoke-upon-Trent*, 1843, pp. 122 f.

Disposition: some of the coins were purchased by a local collector, H. H. Williamson, but these and the remainder may not now be traced.

The hoard would appear to date from the end of the Civil War period and long after hostilities had ceased in Staffordshire. Relatively few hoards

of these years are known. The greater majority of Civil War hoards date before c. 1645, while there is only one published hoard which dates later than this one but before the death of Charles I⁴ and only five are known which were deposited during the Commonwealth.⁵ The absence of further details of the silver coins is most unfortunate. It has been shown that crown and half-crown pieces of Elizabeth I occur very infrequently in mid-seventeenth-century coin hoards.⁶ If, therefore, the majority of the coins from Golden Hill were of Elizabeth I, they should have been largely 1s. and 6d. pieces. In view, however, of the size of this hoard one would expect to find that the silver coins were mainly of the higher denominations and it may well be that although numerically there were more coins of Elizabeth I in the find, the coins of James I and Charles I had a greater over-all monetary value.

Ward conjectured that the depositor was Randle Whytall, one of the two churchwardens named on the parochial notice and who is known to have lived in Oldcot. A Randle Whitall of the parish of Wolstanton was indeed buried on 16 March 1648/9⁷ but whether this was the churchwarden of that name is not certain nor is it known for sure whether the churchwarden's house was that in which the coins were found.

Bore Street, Lichfield (1788). Deposit: Uncertain date within the reign of Charles I.

An unstated number of half-crown pieces of Charles I was found in a 'large pot'.

Stebbing Shaw, *History and Antiquities of Staffordshire*, i, 1798, p. 333. T. Harwood, *History and Antiquities of the Church and City of Lichfield*, 1806, p. 479.

Disposition: unknown.

It would be incautious to assume that as this find consisted of selected coins of high denomination only, it must necessarily have been a large one, although the emphasis given to the size of the container in both sources would suggest that this is quite possible.

¹ I. D. Brown, 'Some Notes on the Coinage of Elizabeth I with Special Reference to her Hammered Silver', *BNJ* xxviii (1957), pp. 593 ff.

² *BNJ* xxxvii (1968), p. 211.

³ Parish of Wolstanton, Newcastle-under-Lyme.

⁴ I. D. Brown, *op. cit.*, no. 91 from Hadleigh,

Suffolk, deposited in about 1649 (*NC* 1939, p. 183).

⁵ *Ibid.*, nos. 165-9.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 577 ff. and Table VII, p. 588.

⁷ *Staffs. Parish Registers Society, Wolstanton*, i, p. 60.

The following two coins were found in the early 1920s while a wall in a field at Copley Farm, Pattingham, was being demolished. They are now in private possession and were brought to my attention by Mr. J. Burke. There is no evidence to suggest that they formed part of a larger find.

1. Charles I, 'Tower' half-crown of group II (North 2205).

Obv. CAROLVS · D · G · MAG[BR]FRA · ET · HIB · REX · i.m. Plume.

Rev. CHRISTO etc.

i.m. Rose.

14·075 grammes. Worn and edge filed down in places.

2. Charles I, Oxford half-crown of 1643 (North 2413).

Obv. CAROLVS · D · G · MAG · BRIT · FR · ET · HIB · REX

i.m. Plume. No ground line; plume behind king.

Rev. EXVRGAT etc.

i.m. two pellets. Three Oxford plumes above Declaration. Die flaw across the bottom left corner of the date and other indications of wear on the die.

14·3 grammes. Clipped in two places.

Photographs of these two coins have been deposited in the Dept. of Coins and Medals at the B.M.

P. H. ROBINSON

A NEW TAVISTOCK TOKEN (?)

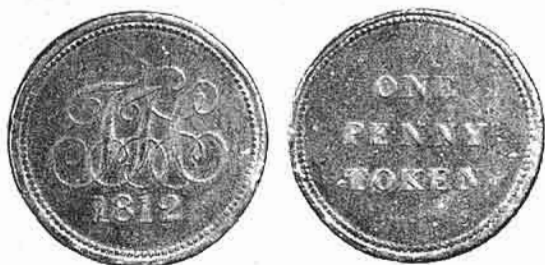


FIG. 1.

THE massive nineteenth-century piece in my collection illustrated above is recorded by Davis,¹ and Bell,² with locality unknown. The ornate cypher is difficult to interpret and the letters may be taken for TH, TIC, TJC, JC, or JIC.

An article in a Halifax newspaper a few years ago suggested that this piece had been issued by the Wainstalls firm of J. & J. Calvert, worsted spinners. The brothers John and Jonathan Calvert worked together in the water mill, now known as the Old Mill, below Kell Butts. The partnership ended in 1850 with the death of John at the age of sixty-two. When Jonathan died in 1875 his son, Jonathan Calvert junior, succeeded to the business. This seems an unlikely explanation,

as the first and second letter of the cypher, although similar, are not the same.

In a personal communication Mr. R. G. Harry³ has drawn my attention to a description of the piece by H. S. Gill:⁴

'Nineteenth-century token. TAVISTOCK

Obv.: T.I.C. (In cypher filling the field)
1812 (In exergue)

Rev.: ONE PENNY TOKEN (In three lines)

Edge: Milled. [This is thread milled. R.C.B.]

The 19th Century Token No. 30 [continued from Vol. VI, p. 167] is one of those issued in this county in the early part of it by the Tavistock Iron Company, doubtless for the convenience of their workmen, at the

¹ W. J. Davis, *The Nineteenth Century Token Coinage of Great Britain, Ireland, The Channel Islands and the Isle of Man*. Not local, no. 40, 1904.

² R. C. Bell, *Copper Commercial Coins*, pp. 167-8, 1964.

³ R. G. Harry, Personal communication, 1970.

⁴ H. S. Gill, *Devonshire Tokens*, Devonshire Association Report and Transactions, vol. 10, part iv, pp. 384-7, Paignton, 1878.

period when regal copper money was so scarce. It is of full penny size $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch diameter, the town where it was issued not being named upon it. The present generation would not have known whence it emanated had not my friend Mr. W. Gill of Tavistock, told me it passed current for a penny throughout that district when he was a boy. I have the token in my collection.'

There seems little doubt that this is the correct explanation of this puzzling piece. For those who wish to do so there is room on page 168 of *Copper Commercial Coins, 1811-1819* to add this information.

R. C. BELL

NUMBERED STRIKINGS OF VICTORIAN BRONZE COINS, 1860-1868

A FEW years ago, when looking through a box of nineteenth-century coins which had remained in the family of their original owner, I discovered a Victorian bronze penny of 1863 with the numbers $\frac{222}{126}$ engraved before the face. There were a number of other Victorian coins, both English and Imperial, in mint state and it seems possible that their collector had access to a source close to the Royal Mint.

In the *British Museum Catalogue* Peck listed eighteen pennies, dated between 1860 and 1867, four halfpennies of 1861 to 1868, and six farthings of 1864 to 1866, all with pairs of numbers scratched in the field on the obverse, either as an improper fraction before the face or one before and one behind the bust. In explanation of these pieces Henry Garside wrote:¹

The numerator is the number of the obverse die and the denominator the number of the reverse die in use during the year in which the coins were struck. Coins bearing them are the first impressions of the dies that were submitted by the workmen to the responsible authorities at the Royal Mint, London, for approval before they proceeded with the actual coinage of the pieces.

Garside had seen only two pennies with these numbers, both of 1867 (542/329 and 582/369), and two halfpence, of 1867 (593/174) and 1868 (598/178).

It is not clear from Garside's wording whether he thought that only the reverse dies were numbered according to the sequence of those 'in use during the year in which the coins were struck', but in any case his explanation does not seem to be valid in the light of the greater number of examples now recorded, which may be tabulated as follows:

Date	BMC no.	Pennies	Halfpennies	Farthings
1860	1627	40/40		
	1618	63/63		
1861	1636	99/99		
	1762		102/102	

1863	—	222/126	
	1658	223/127	
	1659	228/132	
1864	1870		233/8
	1871		234/9
	1872		236/11
	1662	237/134	
	1664	239/136	
	1665	240/137	
	1783		312/118
1865	1668	345/207	
	1669	351/213	
	1874		374/20
1866	1671	476/299	
	1672	482/305	
	1673	486/309	
	1876		514/41
1867	1675	542/329	
	1676	543/330	
	1677	550/337	
	1678	569/356	
	1679	582/369	
	1788		593/174
1868	1792		598/178

Set out in this way the numbers fall into obvious series. The greater numbers are continuous throughout, regardless of denomination, whereas the lesser numbers are consecutive within the separate series of each denomination. There are two anomalies to be explained. The first is that the earliest numbered halfpenny is 102/102, whereas the first ninety-nine numbered strikings had been pennies. This could have arisen if at the start the second number had been in sequence regardless of denomination, but the system was later changed. The second is that there are two specimens known of the farthing with 236/11 which, if both are genuine, could be explained, as Peck does, 'by the supposition that the first trial was temporarily mislaid necessitating a second'.²

If the general theory here proposed is correct, certain inductions can be made about the numberings which are not recorded. Where several are known close together, then if the addition to both numbers is the same between the first and the last,

¹ *British Imperial Copper and Bronze Coinage 1838-1920, 1925 Supplement*, pp. 5-6.

² *BMC* p. 420.

all those intermediate would have been of the same denomination. So, 1/1 to 39/39, 41/41 to 62/62, 64/64 to 98/98, 224/128 to 227/131, 346/208 to 350/212, 477/300 to 481/304, 483/306 to 485/308, 544/331 to 549/336, 551/338 to 568/355, and 570/357 to 581/368 would have been pennies; three of the four numbers between 594 and 597 inclusive would have been halfpennies; and 235/10 would have been a farthing.

Even if 229 to 232 were all farthings (229/4 to 232/7), three numbered farthings must have come earlier in the series than 228/132, and therefore been dated 1863 or earlier. Of the first 228, if 132 were pennies and 3 were farthings, 93 would have been halfpennies. Between 240/137 and 345/207, 74 of the 104 items were presumably pennies, so that since the maximum possible number of farthings was 8 (19 minus 11) at least 22 should have been halfpennies. Between 351/213 and 476/299, 85 of the 124 items were presumably pennies, so that, with a maximum possible of 20 farthings (40 minus 20), at least 19 should have been halfpennies. Of the 55 items just before 542/329, only 19 were pence so that 36 must have been halfpennies or farthings (including 514).

The highest sequence number is 598, but the sum of the highest for the several denominations (369, 178, 41) is 588, so that a total of at least 10 pennies and/or farthings, later respectively than 582/369 and 514/41, are missing. (One of them would lie between 594 and 597.) This suggests that the latest known numbering of each denomination is not far short of the end of its own sequence, i.e. that 1868 was probably the last year covered by the practice and that the total of numbered specimens did not much exceed 598 in all.

Certain general observations can also be made. There are no known examples dated 1862, although current coins of all denominations of this year are common. Assuming that all the first ninety-nine items were pennies, no numbered halfpennies or farthings could have been dated 1860. On all the known numbered farthings the figures are before the bust, but all the halfpennies have the higher figure behind the bust and the lower before it. All the pennies, except those dated 1860 and 1861, and 482/305 of 1866, are marked on the former pattern. It is also noteworthy that, with the exception of the first three pennies and of two isolated numbers among both the halfpennies and farthings, all the surviving examples are in groups of from two to five adjacent or nearly adjacent items.

It must be concluded that Garside's confident

explanation of the numbering will not fit the now more plentiful material. The higher number relates to the series as a whole, running from 1860 to 1868 and regardless of denomination. The second or lower number relates, not to the reverse die in a particular year, but to the series of each denomination throughout the period. Unfortunately we do not know whether the second part of Garside's explanation, as to the purpose of these pieces, was more reliably founded than the first. The evidence demonstrates that at frequent intervals during the first eight years of the bronze coinage certain striking were put aside and numbered in sequence, both as a whole and by denominations, presumably for reference.

Their purpose, however, remains a mystery. They cannot have been specimens set aside for the Trial of the Pyx, since this applied only to coins of gold and silver. They are, in fact, not unlikely to have been impressions, perhaps first impressions, submitted for approval and may have been in some way connected with the efforts of the Royal Mint in the 1860s to find a satisfactory metal for the dies. Yet they cannot represent every die used during the period, since over 350 million bronze coins were struck in 1860-8, a total requiring several thousand dies for both obverse and reverse. Nor do the numberings relate closely to the quantities issued, either by denominations or by dates. Up to the end of 1868, 149 m. pennies were struck, 154 m. halfpennies, 48 m. farthings, and $\frac{3}{4}$ m. third-farthings, yet the numbering on the pennies runs to double that of the halfpennies and to nine times that of the latest known farthing; and in one year—1862, for which no numbered striking are known and a maximum of only 119 is available—more than 126 m. bronze coins were struck, whilst the three years 1861-3 accounted for more than 270 m. coins including over half the total of farthings of 1860-8, more than three-quarters of the pennies and an even higher proportion of the halfpennies.

Even so, it seems on balance probable that the numbered striking of bronze coins are to be connected in some way with the usage or output of certain dies or groups of dies. Low figure die numbers occur below the date on a few pennies of 1863¹ and early letters of the alphabet have been noticed on halfpennies of 1862,² as if experiments were being made at this period in identifying individual dies of the bronze as well as of the silver coinage. Unfortunately, the annual Mint Reports, in which such practices might have received comment, did not begin until 1870.

¹ e.g. BMC nos. 1656, 7.

² e.g. Glendining 15.4.70, lot 309 (B at foot of lighthouse).

Ansell's explanation¹ of the die numbers which occur on florins, shillings, and sixpences from 1864 to 1879, is as follows:

'For the past few years the reverse die has been made to carry, in addition to its recognised device, a small number, with a view to determining at which coining press, and on what particular day, that die was used, that bad work might be traced to an individual. It need hardly be said that the accidents encountered in daily life overcome the object thus sought, for a die may last either minutes or days in wear owing to the irregularities of the steel from which it is made, and

besides, the boys who work the presses are of necessity changed at irregular intervals.'

The numbering of coins as opposed to dies cannot have had the same purpose. We can only wonder whether the numbered bronze coins were trial pieces of some sort, first impressions from some (but far from all) pairings of new dies, preliminary strikings made before particular sessions of coining, or examples required for some other procedure of analysis or record.²

IAN STEWART

¹ G. F. Ansell, *The Royal Mint*, 3rd edn. (1871), p. 80.

² I am grateful to Messrs. Grierson, Lyon, and Sealy for helpful comment on the subject of this paper.

REVIEWS

H. Bertil A. Petersson, *Anglo-Saxon Currency: King Edgar's Reform to the Norman Conquest*. (Bibliotheca Historica Ludensis XXII: Gleerup, Lund, 1969).¹

THE unusual area from which H. Bertil A. Petersson has chosen the subject of his doctoral dissertation, Anglo-Saxon coinage from the 970s to 1066, is linked to an honourable tradition of Swedish research. As early as 1708 Nils Keder published a work on Anglo-Saxon coins. In 1829 Bror Emil Hildebrand of Lund defended his dissertation *Numismata Anglo-Saxonica*. Hildebrand's catalogue of the Anglo-Saxon collection in the Royal Coin Cabinet in Stockholm (1846, revised edition 1881) is among the classical works of Swedish coin research and is still indispensable as a work of reference. The interest of Swedish researchers in Anglo-Saxon coins arises from the contents of our Viking-era silver hoards. Within the present frontiers of Sweden more than 600 coin-hoards from the Viking Age have been found. Together they contain, at a low estimate, 150,000 coins. Of these about 40,000 are English, the remainder mainly German and Arabic. In the British Isles coin finds from the Viking Age are rare. Anyone wishing to study English coins from the period 970–1066 should have recourse to the Royal Coin Cabinet in Stockholm, which contains the finest collection of coins of this kind.

For the last two decades the formidable task of classifying and publishing all coins in the Swedish Viking era treasure finds has been in progress at the Royal Coin Cabinet in Stockholm. The work, which is being paid for by the Swedish Humanistic Research Council, is being carried on in close collaboration with foreign specialists, among them the Irish scholar Michael Dolley, who is often cited in the book under review. This research project must be regarded as the prime reason for the great break-through of the 1950s and 1960s for Anglo-Saxon coin research in England. When Petersson was collecting his material the processing of English coins in the Swedish finds was already fairly far advanced. Most of the finds had been classified and a considerable proportion of the coins had been weighed, and this must have considerably

facilitated the collection of material. Petersson is at pains to refer to the results of the British researches, while at the same time he scarcely even indicates the connection with the research project in progress at the Royal Coin Cabinet. No doubt this omission is connected with Petersson's lack of interest in the coin-hoards as a whole, as also for material research. 'It is not the coins as artefacts and objects for material research, but as components in a monetary system that are to me of the greatest interest' (p. 9).

Two circumstances are characteristic of Anglo-Saxon minting during the period covered by the dissertation: it seems that the coins were 'legal tender' for only a limited time and coins of an equal nominal value, which may be presumed to have been valid for the same time, vary greatly in weight. The dissertation is concerned almost exclusively with the problems connected with these two facts. For anyone dealing with material having these characteristics it is natural to lean on Sture Bolin's *State and Currency in the Roman Empire to 300 A.D.* (Lund, 1958), especially the chapter entitled 'Laws Governing the Minting and Melting down of Coins'. Petersson's dissertation can be regarded as an attempt to apply to Anglo-Saxon coins the laws which Bolin sought to lay down for the Roman currency. In the Roman empire, too, there were in simultaneous circulation coins which were of similar value despite the fact that their silver content differed. According to Bolin the reason why the bad coins did not, in accordance with Gresham's law, drive out the good is that the Roman denarius was overvalued at a rate fixed by the state, and thus had a value greater than the value of its metal content. Bolin formulates a general law: 'charge-free coins cannot have a varying metallic value and coins of varying metallic value cannot be charge-free'. This charge, or overvaluation, was a source of revenue for the state. In principle this overvaluation can be of any size, but it must be at least large enough for it to be unprofitable to melt down the heavier coins. Thus the lowest conceivable overvaluation is equal to the difference between the heaviest coin and the average weight.

If we knew the price of silver per unit of weight, we should, of course, immediately be able to

¹ This review was first published in a Swedish periodical *Historisk Tidskrift*, Stockholm, 1969, pp. 530–41. Translation by Mr. Richard Cox, Stockholm.

calculate the overvaluation of a coin with a given nominal value, a given weight and a given standard of fineness. But it is only very seldom that data on the price of silver have been preserved from early times. Bolin considers, however, that it is possible to calculate the degree of overvaluation merely by studying the weight variations of the coins. In conformity with this, Petersson has framed his thesis as a study of coin-weights and overvaluation of coins in England from the 970s to 1066.

Until only a few years ago the weight of Anglo-Saxon coins was, like the theoretical basis of the Anglo-Saxon weight system, an almost wholly neglected field of research. The only forerunner of Petersson's dissertation is a short paper by the English researcher Veronica Butler, published in 1961. Butler's investigation takes account of the weights of about 2,000 coins and deals only with the period up to the death of Cnut in 1035. The material collected by Petersson is far greater, consisting of no fewer than 34,707 individual weighings, which moreover cover the whole period up to the Norman Conquest. The weighings do not come only from the collection in Stockholm; the author has also collected material from a large number of other museums within and outside Scandinavia. Petersson's work can therefore be described as a pioneering contribution. This description applies to the processing of the coin weights as a whole. So far as this reviewer is aware, never before in the field of numismatics has so large a body of statistical material concerning coin weights been treated with so comprehensive a mathematical and statistical apparatus as in Petersson's dissertation.

But at the same time *Anglo-Saxon Currency* cannot be regarded as an altogether independent work, inasmuch as the author, without any lengthy discussion, broadly accepts and takes as his basis two main groups of premises. One of these consists of the latest results of English research concerning Anglo-Saxon coins. The other group consists of the laws for overvaluation of coins which Bolin puts forward in *State and Currency*. In both of these groups, and not least in the second, there is a strong element of hypothesis which can be questioned. But if on a number of points the premises can be suspected of being incorrect, what value can then be ascribed to the conclusions, however impressive may be the sheer quantity of assembled facts, the perfection of the technical apparatus, and the elegance of the suggested solutions? The question is interesting from the point of view of methodology and is of great

importance from a practical point of view. It is scarcely possible for anyone, in the few years which are usually available to the writer of a dissertation, to master alone so complicated a subject as Anglo-Saxon coinage from Edgar to William the Conqueror. The subject lies in the border area between three different disciplines, namely history, numismatics, and archaeology, and also calls for a knowledge of mathematics, statistics, and economics. If one does not choose to take the risk, like Petersson, of relying on authorities, there remain in the reviewer's opinion only two possibilities. Either the task must be severely circumscribed or it must be undertaken within the framework of a well-organized teamwork—if this is practicable.

In Petersson's case it would seem that these considerations lack relevance. Basing himself on his own hypothesis that the English coins were overvalued by one-third in relation to their silver value (according to Bolin the Roman denarius was overvalued by one-quarter) Petersson considers that he has created a model for explaining the striking circumstance that coins within one and the same period of validity have markedly varying weights. A long series of mathematical operations all seem to him unambiguously to confirm the hypothesis that the Anglo-Saxon coins were overvalued by precisely one-third. The two fundamental groups of premises, the latest results of English research and Bolin's laws, must then also be correct at least in broad outline. Thus there is no occasion to examine the authorities more closely; the mathematical formulae have opened a way to historical knowledge.

Source material. The primary source material consists of the extant coins. Each coin presents a large number of objectively recordable elements. Petersson has concentrated his collecting activities on some of the most important elements: coin type, place of minting, weight. In some cases it was also possible to record the silver content. Petersson has collected data from nearly thirty different museums and other collections. Unfortunately we are not told how many of these collections were visited by the author personally. It is generally known that museum scales are often of antiquated type and that moreover they are often badly adjusted. Petersson devotes much space to a discussion of the representativity of the material, but does not touch on the obvious source of error inherent in the mere fact that different persons have weighed the coins and that different scales have been used.

The distribution of the coins by museums is

described in summary form on pp. 269 ff. For Sweden the total number of coins is 22,475 (i.e. more than half of all the Anglo-Saxon coins found in Sweden) but the total is given without detailed specification. It would have been interesting to know how the coins not derived from the Hildebrand catalogue (the coins in this catalogue lack data as to provenance) are distributed by provinces. Information in note 156, p. 286, provides a possibility of checking the material from Skåne. In the note it is stated that the coins found in Skåne constitute less than 2.8 per cent (or about 1,100 coins) of the total material of 40,466 coins. But Skåne is one of the richest provinces as regards treasure finds outside Gotland. In all, the finds in Skåne have yielded more than 8,000 Anglo-Saxon coins or about one-fifth of all Anglo-Saxon coins found within the present boundaries of Sweden. Unfortunately it is the case that a large proportion of the Anglo-Saxon coins in the Scanian finds have been dispersed: many exist, without provenance, in the Hildebrand catalogue, others have been exchanged with foreign collections, some have been melted down. Broadly speaking, all that is available for closer study are the four finds mentioned on pp. 270 and 272. But one of these finds, the treasure from Igelösa churchyard, exhibited in the Historiska Museet, Lund, alone contains about 1,800 Anglo-Saxon coins, the majority very well preserved. This accords poorly with Petersson's statement that only about 1,100 coins could be registered for Skåne.

From the total material of 40,466 coins Petersson excludes nearly 6,000. This is a quite high figure. On page 69 we are told very briefly which groups have been removed: Irish and Scandinavian imitations, coins which have been halved, are corroded, fragmentary, pierced, or damaged in other ways, coins with loops or other devices for suspension, coins with an uncertain place of minting, and all coins which are 'obviously worn'. We are not told how many of the coins so removed belong to this or that group. It would have been particularly interesting to know how large the last group is. This is obviously the one most difficult to define, for how is the line to be drawn between coins which are so 'obviously worn' that they must be excluded from the investigation and coins which are not so 'obviously worn' that they have to be excluded? Here Petersson has fallen a victim to a phenomenon extremely common in material research, namely impressionism. But even if impressionistic modes of expression often still occur in material research,

it is comparatively seldom that we find examples of deficient reporting of the geographical distribution of the material or the number of objects excluded.

Representativity of source material. On p. 25 Petersson declares that he regards his material as a sample drawn from a population consisting of all coins minted and circulated in England during the period covered by the dissertation. And on p. 69 he states that all the source material, which after the above-mentioned exclusions consists of 34,707 coins, 'can be regarded as a random sample from the coin supply that once existed and which is thus the statistical population'. But the material comes from *hoards*. It is therefore not by any means a question of a random selection. On the contrary it is a selection from stocks of coins which people may have made for quite special purposes, both at the time of depositing and before. For example, it is conceivable that the heaviest coins were sorted out and do not occur in our hoards. But it is also conceivable that heavy coins in particular tended to be deposited. In England the heavy Long-Cross coins (p. 110) show a tendency to dominate the small hoards from the time of Æthelred. Petersson scarcely comments at all on the idea which has sometimes been put forward that part of the enormous output of coins under Æthelred and Cnut was *occasioned* by *danegeld* and *heregeld* and was in part intended to be paid direct to the Vikings. If that was the case, then of course large parts of Petersson's material are in no way samples of the coins circulating in England. Ten of our coin hoards are undoubtedly in a statistical sense a sample of a population consisting of all hoards hitherto found or still buried in the earth, but in the reviewer's opinion these hoards do not constitute a random sample of the stock of coins once circulating in England. Nor, for this reason, is it possible uncritically to apply the statistical rule cited on p. 25 that an average of the sample is at the same time an average of the population.

Hypotheses on the minting in England. The interpretation of the Anglo-Saxon coinage depends upon the contents of the currency reform which is referred to in the title of the dissertation. This is considered to have meant that all coins in circulation had at regular intervals to be handed into the state for exchange. The only written source is an obscure reference in a work from the thirteenth century (p. 11). This item gives no information as to the contents of the currency reform, only a dating to 975. An exchange of coins (*quando moneta vertebatur*) is mentioned

in Domesday Book, which was compiled in the 1080s but in part reflects earlier conditions. Finally, there is a provision in Edgar's law (p. 265) that there shall only be one coinage in the kingdom. But the same prescription is to be found already in Æthelstan's Grately decrees from c. 930. Petersson, however, firmly asserts that Dolley and Metcalf have 'made it clear' on the basis of coins and coin finds that a currency reform really took place under Edgar. But the existing material of coins and coin finds is difficult to interpret. Of thirty-three finds from England deposited during the period c. 975–1075, fifteen according to Dolley and Metcalf contain practically only one type of coin—i.e. the finds have precisely the appearance they would be expected to have in an area with recurrent withdrawals of coins. However, some of these finds are partly dispersed, others have been reconstructed, and most are quite small. The general tendency seems rather to be that the larger a find is, the more types are represented in it. The finds adduced by Dolley and Metcalf seem not to provide a wholly convincing basis for an assumption as to regular coin exchanges. As an alternative it would be possible to conceive of a gradual development which began under Æthelstan and which can be followed especially clearly from the beginning of Edgar's reign, when the number of coin types becomes smaller, the number of minting places gradually increases for each type, and the name of the place of minting is consistently stated on the coins. Evidently the control of the coinage was tightened up from the 970s onwards and it is also obvious that different coin types succeeded one another. The question is whether or not the sources permit significantly more detailed conclusions than these.

After Petersson has associated himself with the main theme of recent English research, that regular coin withdrawals took place from the beginning of Edgar's reign, he devotes himself to a very stimulating and convincing criticism of certain questions of detail, including among other things the minting in Wilton and Salisbury and the dating of the very similar coin types First Hand, Second Hand, and Benediction Hand. As already mentioned, the written sources give no information either on the existence of the regular minting periods or on their duration. The duration must be purely a matter of construction. The number of years in the reign are divided by the number of types. Dolley, who dates the reform to 973, obtains six-year periods. Petersson, who prefers a dating to 975 and combines two of Dolley's

types into one, gets seven-year periods. One wishes that Petersson had checked his new division into periods against certain historically known facts. For there exists a possibility of verification which for this period is almost unique. The battle at Holy River between Cnut on the one hand and the Svear and the Norwegians on the other is, as is well known, referred to in three sources that are independent from one another: Cnut's letter on his way home from Rome in 1027, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and Ottar Svartes Knutsdrapa. In the letter Cnut calls himself 'King of part of the Svear', a title which is confirmed by the inscription on a coin struck at Sigtuna by the moneyer Thormoth, active under Anund Jakob. This coin is now known in seven specimens, struck with several different dies and with inscriptions of excellent quality. The inscription, which runs CNVT REX SP (eorum), can no longer be dismissed as the result of a wrong engraving; it must refer to the same event as the other three sources. The coin types are partly inspired by the English coin type which Petersson calls Circled Short Cross. According to Petersson's chronology this coin type began to be struck in 1031. Dolley, on the other hand, assigns the coin type to the period 1029–35. Cnut's sovereignty over Sweden cannot have lasted long, and moreover the REX SP coins have close affinities with the earlier minting of Anund Jakob. Even Dolley's dating of the coins' prototype would seem to be late, and Petersson's is decidedly too late. But if Circled Short Cross, as would be reasonable, was dated to 1026 or 1027 the whole postulate of a scheme with minting periods of equal length from the 970s onwards would collapse. This example has been adduced in order to show that the dating of the Anglo-Saxon minting periods and the determination of their lengths has an arbitrary aspect even in the most favourable cases.

Methodological hypotheses. A feature of central importance for the form of the dissertation is the 'mathematical method' which is presented on pp. 29 ff. The discussion of metrological and statistical methods is of a rather elementary character and is probably intended in part to enlighten readers unfamiliar with these subjects. The basic features of the mathematical method are, as mentioned, taken from Sture Bolin. Petersson, however, is responsible for certain additions and improvements, e.g. the expansion of Bolin's general law on pp. 47 f. or the formulae for the calculation of overvaluation on p. 99. Bolin's work *State and Currency* has had a very mixed reception. While some have hailed it as

'fundamental' and 'masterly', others have subjected it to sharp criticism, considering it to be based purely on hypotheses with too many unknown factors and accusing the author of playing with mathematical formulae without sufficient contact with the concrete material. Most critical of all is the American specialist on the numismatics of antiquity, T. V. Buttrey. This author's criticism is particularly worth taking into account, inasmuch as it meets Bolin on his own ground, that of algebraic formulae. It is true that Petersson discusses Buttrey, but he does not do so in any very penetrating way. One asks oneself whether it would not have been a better way of tackling the subject if Petersson had omitted the whole of the algebraic exercise in the chapter on the 'mathematical method' in favour of a discussion of the presumption itself, namely the thesis that coins having a silver value exceeding the nominal value must necessarily be melted down. The essential mathematical basis already exists in Bolin. A fundamental question connected with this, which should have been discussed in detail, is whether it is possible at all to calculate the overvaluation solely on the basis of the weight. One misses also a discussion of the question whether so great an overvaluation as one-third is really reasonable.

Most people would agree that there must have been some form of profit in all minting, a minting tax, otherwise the operations would have been run at a loss. Certain data on the amount of the minting dues have been preserved. Of particular relevance are the accounts for the minting in London, which are known from the end of the thirteenth century. In 1280 the dues for minting one pound in pennies amounted to about 7 per cent. Rather less than 5 per cent represented tax to the king and the remainder was intended to cover the cost of minting. So far as the reviewer is aware, there is no written evidence that the built-in tax was ever as large as one-third.

It would appear that Petersson has been so firmly convinced of the reliability of Bolin's mathematical method that he has never seriously considered whether there may not be other explanations of the phenomenon that coins with different weights could circulate at the same time. There is an interesting source from the end of the twelfth century, the *Dialogus de Scaccario*, added by Petersson on p. 168. In this source there is described, with many concrete details, how coins coming into the Exchequer from the sheriffs all over the country are *both* counted and weighed. If the coins exceed a certain number to

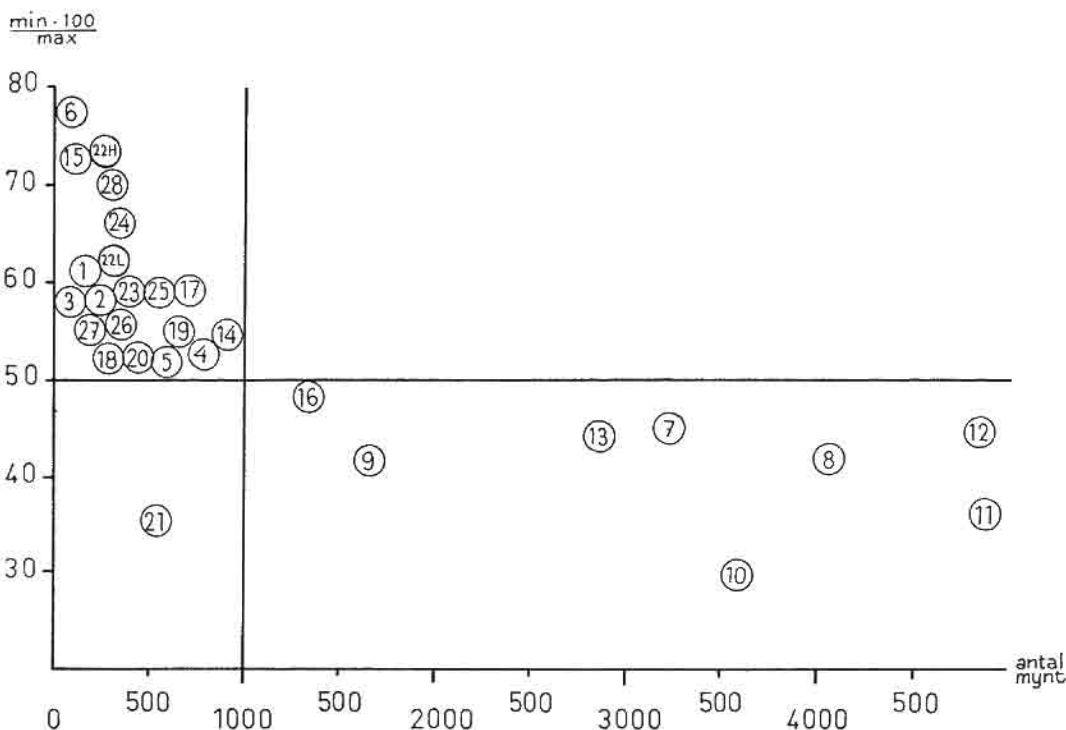
the pound they are on average too light and the payment is rejected. If such a provision existed already in Anglo-Saxon times it should have been sufficient to protect the heaviest coins from being melted down. People would not dare to remove the heaviest coins, or to be more exact they took out exactly as much as was permitted, according to the *Dialogus de Scaccario* six pennies to the pound or 2.5 per cent. A prescription that the coins should *both* be counted and weighed means that the overvaluation is entirely detached from the maximum weight (the maximum weight is one of the central concepts of the 'mathematical method'). The overvaluation can theoretically be at any level. The whole becomes a question of the power of the state or of the prevailing confidence in the state. It is probable, however, that the overvaluation was at somewhere about the level indicated by the more recent sources.

There are certain people who play an important part in Petersson's dissertation; these are the 'private individuals' who are assumed to be in the habit of handing in silver to the mint. One might say that the whole of the Bolin/Petersson mathematical method sets out to prevent these people from making profits at the cost of the state. The silver value of the heaviest coins may not exceed the nominal value of the coins for then the private persons will melt them down, i.e. Gresham's law comes into play. But were there in reality private people who were in a position to hand over silver to the mint for minting? T. V. Buttrey doubts whether such persons existed and Dolley, who among other things assumes that the king owned the mines, says in *Anglo-Saxon Coins*, p. 155: 'Private persons therefore, had little chance of acquiring any quantity of silver to jeopardize the royal monopoly.' But if there were no private people who could hand in silver to the mint the main foundation for the Bolin/Petersson method disappears. Petersson's mathematical agility and the improvements he has made in the method as such are unfortunately of only secondary interest in relation to the main problem: Does the 'mathematical method' lead us forward to the most probable interpretation of the material?

Application and interpretation. The principal section of the book is entitled 'Examination and Interpretation'. The Bolin/Petersson mathematical method is here applied to the collected source material of 34,707 weight data, sorted into 28 types and 23 period types (the latter term is new—Petersson shows great courage in trying to improve on the old nomenclature). The statistical material is presented in an exemplary way, partly

in the form of sixteen histograms which show the percentage distribution and partly in the form of thirty-eight frequency tables.

Peterson begins by expressing the weight variation of the different types in such a way that he calculates the weight of the lightest coin as a percentage of that of the heaviest but then passes on to replace the heaviest and the lightest coin with 'the class limits to which, without interruption, the weights of the coins rise and fall' (p. 94).



Such a curtailment is rather subjective. How large a proportion of the weight variation can be cut off depends among other things on what width of the class is chosen. In addition there is the fact that the numbers of coins in the different types vary greatly: the fewer coins there are in the type the more gaps are shown by the weight variation and the greater is the intervention implied by the curtailment. It should be added that in any application of the 'mathematical method' it is of determinative importance for the results which coins are taken to represent the maximum and minimum values.

On p. 94 there is presented a table showing the minimum weight of the twenty-eight types expressed as a percentage of the maximum weight.

The values vary from 28.4 to 77.6 per cent. Petersson finds that the mint-types are divided into three classes. In the first ten types on the list the lightest coin would constitute about two-thirds of the heaviest, in the following fifteen about half, and in the last three about one-third. The values which arise at a 'natural' or 'maximum' variation if the overvaluation is one-third are 66.7 and 33.3 per cent respectively. In his introductory chapter Petersson puts the question: 'Was the Anglo-Saxon penny overvalued, and if so, by how much?' On p. 95 he considers he can indicate the answer: 'According to Bolin's Laws . . . the minimum weight is $\frac{2}{3}$ and $\frac{1}{3}$, respectively, of the maximum weight. Already the examination of the material so far carried out has thus indicated the existence of an overvalue and its approximate size in the Anglo-Saxon currency.'

The present reviewer, however, is unable to see that the types on p. 94 fall naturally into three classes. On the contrary, indeed, they constitute a continuous sequence, and form a normal distribution with many values around the median value, which is 54.2, and the extremes have values which lie at about the same distance from the median value. Moreover, there is a clear

connection between the weight variation and the number of coins in the type, namely in the sense that the greater the number of coins of a type which are preserved, the greater is the weight variation. If all types are plotted in a system of coordinates where one axis represents the weight variation and the other the number of coins, a very clear picture is obtained (see Figure). One can contrast with each other coin types represented by more than 1,000 specimens and by less than 1,000 specimens. Type no. 22, Expanding Cross, has been divided into the two component parts which were distinguished already by Hildebrand (p. 128 and Table 32). In those types which have more than 1,000 specimens the lightest coin is always *less* than 50 per cent of the heaviest. But in the types which have fewer than 1,000 coins the lightest coin is always *more* than 50 per cent of the heaviest. The only exception is type no. 21, Short Cross, where the value is as low as 36.0 per cent, although the number of coins is only 512. This is no accident: Short Cross with its extremely small and thick coins is a generally divergent type (see Plate II, no. 21). The types with more than 1,000 coins are Quatrefoil (4,840), Annulate Cross (4,827), Long Cross (4,071), Last Small Cross (3,565), Crux (3,209), Circled Short Cross (2,871), Ornamental Cross (1,613), and Fleur-de-lis (1,326). These are Ethelred's last four types, Cnut's three types and Harald Harefoot's only type, that is to say the types that belong to the period c. 990–1040 and are to the largest extent represented in danegeld and heregeld. One might therefore see a connection not only between the weight variation and the number of coins in the type, but also between the weight variation and the other external circumstances in which the coin type came into existence.

There is another aspect which may possibly explain part of the weight variations, and that is the minting technique. There were no rolling mills and consequently the silver sheeting had to be hammered out. As a result there arose unevennesses, whether the sheeting was thick or thin. Unevennesses in the sheeting must result in larger relative weight variations in regard to thin sheeting than in regard to thick sheeting. To measure the variation in thickness presents insurmountable technical difficulties. On the other hand, one can arrive at a thickness index by dividing the weight by the diameter. Since the number of coins minted must also affect the weight variation, as we have just seen, it is necessary to restrict the comparison to types with more or less equal issues. It proves that both in the types which have less than 250

coins and in those which have 250–500 coins a low thickness gives a greater weight variation and a higher thickness gives a smaller weight variation.

The connections which can thus be shown, both between the weight variation and the number of coins and between the weight variation and the thickness of the sheeting, make it less probable that there was also a direct connection between the weight variation and the overvaluation.

The overvaluation is not determined by the fact of fixing a maximum and a minimum weight. One must also determine and decide for oneself whether, in Bolin's terminology, one wishes to interpret the variation as 'maximum' or as 'natural'. If one chooses the first alternative this means one conceives of the overvaluation as being so small that the whole scope for the weight variation has been utilized. If, on the contrary, one interprets the same maximum and minimum value as a natural variation, this means that one thinks of the overvaluation as having been so large that only half the scope for the weight variation was utilized. Thus the figures in Table 40, cols. 12 and 14, must mean alternative proposals for interpretation. For example, for Reform Small Cross the overvaluation is 14.5 per cent if one considers the variation to have been maximal, and 29.1 per cent if the variation is assumed to have been 'natural'. But it should be emphasized that it is only the percentage 14.5 which is based on strong foundations. On the presumption adopted by Bolin and Petersson, namely that private persons could exchange silver bars for coins at the mint, and on several other presumptions (*inter alia* that the rule referred to in the *Dialogus de Scaccario* about both counting and weighing coins was not followed), the overvaluation cannot have been less than 14.5 per cent, since this would have involved a risk that the heaviest coins would be melted down. But the overvaluation with the presumed 'natural' variation is not so firmly grounded. One can conceive of any percentage between 14.5 and 100 just as readily as of the percentage 29.1. Petersson's way out of this dilemma is simply to *assume* that the variation was 'natural' and that the overvaluation amounted to one-third or 33.3 per cent. And he proceeds to examine how large a proportion of the quantity of coins within each type falls within the limits of the 'natural' variation. These percentages are given in Table 41, col. 9, and amount usually to 95 per cent or over.

On the histograms Petersson marks the 'natural' variation with broken lines. But there is often a space between the greater part of the quantity of

coins in the type and the limits for the 'natural' variation. This means that the limits of the variation could have been drawn more closely without any large percentage of the quantity of coins thereby falling beyond the limits. One misses a discussion of *how much* closer the variation limits could have been drawn for each type, without a risk of more than, for example, 10 per cent of the coins falling outside it. Petersson's thesis that the overvaluation was 33.3 per cent and that the weight variation was 'natural' is of course conceivable, since the variation of the coin types is so *relatively* closely associated with the limits which these assumptions give. But inasmuch as the weight variation has proved to have a connection with entirely different factors, such as the number of coins in the type, or the thickness of the sheeting, the field is open, in the reviewer's opinion, for conceiving of an overvaluation of an entirely different size. The excess value may have been less, theoretically it may also have been greater.

An important point of departure for the study of the weight variation within the individual types, is the period type Small Cross, which is unique in that it was struck by three successive kings, Edgar, Edward, and Ethelred, according to Petersson's chronology during the course of a seven-year period. Thus the inner relative chronology of the type is clear and it is easy to establish that the average weight gradually falls. This agrees with one of Petersson's central hypotheses (pp. 49 ff.), which is to the effect that the purchasing power of the coins of chronologically limited type must have diminished during the course of the period of validity. The state would have drawn the obvious conclusion from this and gradually issued an increasing number of coins against silver handed in to the mint, although with constantly diminishing weight. Petersson, however, seeks to carry through the idea of a gradual diminution of weight, even in the study of the histograms of the subtypes. In the histogram Fig. 1 on Normal Small Cross (p. 179), Petersson seeks to distinguish four chronologically consecutive, gradually diminishing average weights—these are the four staples from right to left. But the absolute number of coins entering into these maxima is small. In unlucky cases it would not need more than five coins to be wrongly weighed for three of the four maxima to disappear—a possibility which can be compared with what has been indicated above regarding the chance of wrong weighing.

According to Petersson it is not possible to find any other typological elements than the weight in which these presumed mintings would differ from

one another (p. 103). In the reviewer's opinion, on the contrary, the presumed successive mintings cannot be proved with the aid of the Bolin/Petersson mathematical method. The only way of proving the hypothesis would be to study other elements which are *independent* of the weight, but nevertheless change in parallel with it, e.g. the die axis or details in the form of the coin design.

It is interesting to study by comparison how Petersson proceeds when it is a matter of distinguishing the weight diminution in one of the large types, e.g. Helmet/Ornamental Cross, Fig. 6 (p. 184). Like several of the large types this one has only one clear 'peak'. None the less, Petersson assumes that the type consists of several mint series with different average weights. The reason given is that the distribution shows a negative skewness. But this negative skewness is characteristic of many of the types and the simplest explanation is a melting down of the heaviest coins, while at the same time the left-hand part of the histogram is reinforced as a result of the wearing of the coins.

After Petersson has analysed in detail all the coin types, and within each type has found confirmation of the hypotheses concerning an overvaluation of one-third and a gradual diminution of weight, he takes on the formidable task of examining the weight variation for 1,104 coins with identical dies. It proves that these coins agree much more closely in weight than do the coins which only belong to the same type, but are not from identical dies. From this Petersson draws the conclusion that the weight variation within the types must be intentional. Thus at each minting occasion coins of very uniform weight would have been struck.

The evidence, however, shows certain weaknesses. Of the 1,104 coins only 123 belong to Edgar, Edward, and Ethelred. Thus any value as evidence possessed by the coins with identical dies relates mainly to the period after Ethelred. Moreover, the two coins struck with the same dies are probably not representative of the weight variation in the whole quantity of coins from a single minting occasion, but only for a short section of this, since the dies soon became worn out and had to be replaced by new ones. In addition, there is the fact that the coins which can be distinguished as dieduplicates are probably not fully representative of all the coins struck with these dies. Owing to the wear on the dies we can now only distinguish such coins as were actually struck in very close connection with one another. With this there arises the possibility that the close

correspondence in the weight of the coins from identical dies is in fact due to the fact that they were made from the same delivery of silver sheeting and under other similar technical preconditions for similar weight.

With the support of the close correspondence of the weight of the coins from identical dies, which Petersson considers to show that the weight variation within the types is intentional, he proceeds to examine the weight variation within different geographical areas. In his study of the Hand type (pp. 150 f.) Petersson distinguishes no fewer than six consecutive average weights. The picture is further complicated by the presumption that not all mint areas went over from the subtype First Hand to Second Hand at the same time. Petersson's notion that it is possible in detail to follow the development, even within the smaller geographical areas, is fascinating, but it must be pointed out that these inquiries have a strongly hypothetical element. Even where Petersson divides up the material into geographical areas, he is so pre-occupied by his thesis of a gradual diminution of weight that he does not discuss the question whether the weight differences between different districts may not be mainly geographically and not chronologically determined.

Petersson divides England into ten areas (map, p. 90). A close study of Tables 8–38 shows that certain adjacent areas have a considerable mutual agreement with regard to weight variation. There is another division of Anglo-Saxon England which perhaps would be more relevant, the old division into Wessex, Mercia, and the Danelaw which is referred to in Cnut's laws, in William I's law, and in several other documents. Petersson's area 9 corresponds to Mercia, areas 3, 7, and 8 to Wessex, and areas 10, 6, 5, 4, and 2 to the Danelaw. London, area 1, should be treated separately and in fact Petersson does this. If this simplified division is compared with the weight variation we get an interesting picture. It proves that Mercia all along is minting heavy coins; in all types except Facing Small Cross the average value for Mercia is above the average for the whole kingdom, and in six types Mercia has the highest average value. In Wessex the average value also is above the average in the majority of types up to Edward the Confessor's Trefoil. Winchester has the greatest average weight in the kingdom in five types. The Danelaw, on the other hand, is below the average value in the majority of types up to Edward the Confessor, when the Danelaw begins to strike heavy coins. London has light coins

almost throughout, just as Mercia has heavy coins. In view of the administrative differences between these areas—the sources often speak of Mercia's laws, the West Saxons' laws, and the Danes' laws—it would be natural to suppose that the weight differences between the areas are mainly geographical (i.e. administrative or traditional) and are not chronologically determined. In Sweden there is an interesting parallel phenomenon. The medieval minting there follows three different geographically conditioned coin calculation systems. In Svealand there were 192 pennies to the mark, in Götaland 384, and on Gotland 288.

Finally, Petersson also essays the task, almost insoluble at present owing to inadequate technical resources, of determining the silver content of the coins. Petersson has himself, using an elementary method, analysed about 600 coins—previously only a few content analyses have been performed on Anglo-Saxon coins. From this deficient material Petersson considers that he can draw the conclusion that coins produced at the same time not only have a closely corresponding weight, but also show a tendency to have the same silver content. This is an important observation. If the silver content is constant this factor need not be represented in the mathematical formulae for the calculation of the excess value—nor in fact is the silver content represented in the formulae for the Bolin/Petersson method. Petersson's investigation of the silver content is a praiseworthy initiative but is of a very preliminary character.

It is extremely interesting and stimulating to read Petersson's examination and interpretation of the 34,707 coins covered by the investigation, but many fundamental questions seem to be unanswered. Is it possible to study the overvaluation without a knowledge of the silver price, and must we not also know more in detail about the silver content of the coins? The reviewer's hypothesis is that while the Anglo-Saxon coins were certainly overvalued the amount by which they were overvalued is still unknown. The general agreement of the material with the algebraic formulae for one-third overvaluation may be due to the fact that the overvaluation of one-third implies a fairly wide limit. The connection which may be observed between the weight variations, on the one hand, and a series of other phenomena, the number of coins, the thickness of the sheeting, geographical distribution and political conditions, on the other, seems to indicate that the weight variation need not necessarily have any connection

with the degree of the overvaluation. The two groups of premises on which Petersson has based his dissertation, the hypotheses on the minting in England, and, above all, the methodological key hypothesis, the 'mathematical method' inspired by Bolin, call for further examination.

The researcher who has the courage and imagination to leave well-trodden paths and to grapple with difficult and important borderline subjects will always run the risk of being exposed to criticism to a greater extent than other researchers. This is profoundly unjust—for it is of course precisely these fearless researchers, those who dare to take risks, who keep the discussion going and thereby carry research forward. The foregoing critical scrutiny of *Anglo-Saxon Currency* is concerned mainly with the premises of the investigation and only to a minor extent with Bertil Petersson's own work. Within its own terms of reference *Anglo-Saxon Currency* stands out as an excellent investigation, conducted with exceptional consistency and energy, of a body of material bristling with contradictions and difficulties of interpretation.

BRITA MALMER

Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles. The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, National Museum, Copenhagen. Part III, Anglo-Saxon Coins: Cnut. By GEORG GALSTER. Published for the British Academy and the Carlsberg Foundation, by the Oxford University Press, 1970. 3 vols. £16.50.

CNUT, known justifiably in Scandinavia as Cnut the Great, like many a king after him who numbered England amongst his dominions, chose to live there for most of his regnant life, so it is not at first sight inevitable that we should look to his native Denmark for a gigantic corpus of his extant coins. Such, however, the latest publication in the *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles* bids us do; three thick volumes have been needed to encompass the Cnut coins in the National Museum of Denmark—one whole volume is devoted to the mints of Lincoln and London alone. The total number of coins here published exceeds by a couple of hundred the largest catalogue which has hitherto appeared, though it must be remembered that when the Swedish hoard-coins are at last added to Hildebrand's compilation the balance will be more than redressed.

To say that the arrangement of these volumes is traditional is to say that it is controversial. It looks backward to the pioneering work of the

old master B. E. Hildebrand rather than to present-day undertakings as exemplified by the other volumes in this series. As with the Æthelred volumes published in 1966 the order is mint-moneyer-type rather than mint-type-moneyer as followed by the *Sylloges* of British collections. Each arrangement has its own advantages according to the particular use one is wishing to make of the material. The employment of Hildebrand numbers for identification is an established Scandinavian practice. It offers a useful shorthand providing an instant record of both legends which is valuable when the condition of the coin has not given a good photograph. The disadvantage is that such identification is ambiguous. It is safe only so long as it is understood that it is 'the same' as its BEH counterpart only in so far as it has identical legends—one is not to understand that it is the same coin, i.e. a duplicate, from the same dies. In some cases the latter may very well be true, for the introductory material dealing with provenances does suggest that the coins which have reached the Danish collection via exchange with Stockholm may well have been Kungliga Myntkabinetts duplicates but even in these cases the Stockholm authorities could have been mistaken, since in the nineteenth century the niceties of die-identity were scarcely perceived.

There is some difference of opinion upon which coin-types in the name of Cnut may be properly included in the body of his Anglo-Saxon coins. Dr. Galster, following Hildebrand, includes all the types A–K in these volumes, but the editors point out in a note that recent research this side of the North Sea would prefer to see eliminated all but the three types, E, G, and H, as substantive types minted in England during Cnut's lifetime. To some extent the problem is the same as with the Scandinavian imitations of Æthelred's coins, but with the added complication that Cnut had the undoubted right to strike coins in his Scandinavian possessions, and almost certainly did so at Lund, which name is also the commonest abbreviation for his English mint at London. Hildebrand decided on the criterion that types in which some at least of the coins name Cnut as king of the English rather than as king of the Danes can be included as English types, but even so his remarks on his types A–D and their variations have a doubting tone which has been reinforced more recently by the discovery of a very high degree of die-linking among just these doubtful coins. Some indeed were already claimed long ago by Hauberg for his great work on the Danish series.

Also included in these volumes on Cnut are those types which though undoubtedly struck in England may not belong to his reign. It has been convincingly suggested that types I and K were struck after his death, either memorially in his name, or with Cnut as a hypochoristic abbreviation for the name of the reigning king Harthacnut. That this latter idea is by no means impossible can be shown by the analogy of the moneyers' signatures Cnut and Harthacnut at Lincoln which appear two and two in four known die-combinations all with the same obverse die, strongly implying that they are one and the same. One of these coins is no. 1653 in the Copenhagen sylloge, with the signature Hærthacnut, but the Cnut moneyer's signature is known only from the British Museum and two English private collections.

Until there can be agreement on such problems of attribution the best compromise has probably been reached here: to give us all the coins and then to indicate which of them must be approached with caution. The great fascination of these volumes is to consider how wonderfully well their bulk of material will complement the existing record. The most cursory glance through their pages, with the constantly reiterated footnotes: Moneyer not recorded by Hildebrand for this type—for this reign, even—Variant not recorded in Hildebrand—must set one anticipating satisfactions to come when their riches are collated into one's own researches. The appearance of these volumes has been long awaited, and our gratitude to Dr. Galster and to the editors, is mixed with hopefulness that we may soon see the completion of the Anglo-Saxon series.

v. j. s.

Coins and Archaeology. By LLOYD R. LAING.
Pp. xvi + 336, pls. 24, line-blocks 33, maps 16.
London, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1969. Price
£3.00.

IN this Christmas-pudding of a book Little Jack Horner may put his thumb and pull out innumerable plums of variable soundness. Since greedy Little Jack lurks within us all, it must be admitted that it has a certain seductiveness, despite its slipshod writing and its wretched little sketches. To its credit, it is well supplied with references, while the maps, though they add or correct nothing, are often neater than their originals, which are always indicated. It should hardly be necessary to warn experienced numismatists against its seductions: they will find the 'plums', the loosely connected notes, seldom more

than one page long, of which the book is concocted, either elementary to the point of childishness or, when they can be assessed by special knowledge, both uncritical and oddly balanced. Where a numismatist's fresh curiosity is aroused he must always check the reference. The thousands, however, who style themselves archaeologists may be in greater peril: if they are not deterred by yet another elementary exposition of stratigraphy, they may glut themselves too readily on a mixture laced with all their subtler acquired tastes, from pedestal-urns to medieval brooches.

There is a section called 'Coins and the Scientist', where the author attempts what only a master in scientific disciplines, including statistics, can do, namely, to 'make science easy'. He only shows himself turgid, yet 'blasted with science', and makes the simple recognition that *sou* equals *solidus* into a portentous piece of research. Then, after 'Classical Coins and the Pre-historian', he moves into Northern Europe and Britain in particular, and stays there. His background knowledge of Greek numismatics is weak and full of wonderment—e.g. he does not realize that *siglos* and *shekel* are cognate words. On Celtic coins he is most at home: his reading is wider, his understanding of the general issues better, but even here there is nothing original and no real synthesis. He merely retails the numismatic theories of others, in what is regarded as an 'archaeological' rather than an 'historical' province. And that is 'coins and archaeology'. The longest and most laboured portion is on Roman Britain alone—a most insular allocation, which might yet be used for a study of social and economic archaeology. Instead, all the old myths and contentions reappear: Carausius (with medieval Scottish chroniclers as a valid source about him!); the possibility of barbarous imitations in the late fifth and early sixth centuries (surely we know enough about early Saxon archaeology to scotch that one at last). Professor Thomas on late Roman Cornwall and Miss Robertson on Scotland are worth popularizing. On 'Coins and Medieval Britain' Mr. Laing is out of his depth again. Not only does he fail to see, for instance, on Sutton Hoo, that Dr. Kent's present views have shifted from those of 'Kent 1961', and that the two should not be mentioned together without a warning, or that all that bears the Eastern emperor's name is not simply 'Byzantine', but his whole acquaintance with medieval archaeology seems slight. Pottery may be of supreme importance in pre-architectural archaeology; the medieval archaeologist would rather date his pots by his

buildings, yet it is not so exceptional to date both by coins. Stray *silver* coins are as common on medieval sites as on Roman, and jettons, which Mr. Laing does not mention, are very good 'zone fossils', as cosmopolitan as Roman bronze. How imprecise does he think medieval numismatics must be, if the purpose of the classification of Short Cross or Edwardian pennies is simply to assign them to reigns? To be fair, he must know better, but his presentation of countless, ill-sorted, magpie-gathered citations could well produce this and many similar deductions in his readers. And if anybody was ever so foolish as to date the whole of Wessex scratch-marked pottery by one coin-find, this should have been made an example of how *not* to use coin-evidence. If such a book was to be written, with such an eager and uncritical readership to hand, it should have been a much more responsible one, or none at all.

S. E. R.

Coins, Tokens and Medals of the East Riding of Yorkshire. By PHILIP WHITTING. Purey Cust Chambers, York, YO1 2EJ: East Yorkshire Local History Society, 1969. [4], 80 pp., 16 plates. (East Yorkshire local history series, no. 25.)

MR. WHITTING has well discharged a numismatic obligation to local historians in putting at their service the results of research and lists of the coins from Hedon and Hull, the tokens of the seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries, medals, and finds from the East Riding, drawn not only from published works (and these include such a difficult compilation as Batty) but also from personal contacts and the material collected in the Hull museums.

He is especially to be congratulated in view of the unavailability of specimens, and the intrusion of the spurious *Memoirs and Correspondence of Alderman Thomas Johnson*. Because of these difficulties, however, which affect the seventeenth-century tokens in particular, one did need to know in all cases Mr. Whitting's sources of information and illustration; and one must say that his section on the tokens of the seventeenth century, reflecting no doubt the lack of work in this field, is not as authoritative as it should have been. Greater caution was required in introducing the name of Ramage, who died in 1662, a date earlier than on any of the dated tokens; the private issues were prohibited in 1672 as well as 1674 (p. 20); a misreading of Ogilby's *Britannia* has diverted the Hull to Beverley road via Anlaby. One is grateful

above all, however, that Mr. Whitting has out-faced the embarrassingly bad condition of many of the specimens to provide the much-needed photographic illustrations.

R. H. T.

Discovering Trade Tokens. By GEORGE BERRY. Tring: Shire Publications, 1969. 56 pp., plates.

IT is regrettable, if understandable, that this booklet includes eighteenth- and nineteenth-century tokens, for the single section devoted to them unbalances a work that is essentially about those of the seventeenth century. Mr. Berry has an expert knowledge of the economic position in that century of the trades and occupations of token issuers, a talent for lively detail, and a deep knowledge of one county; thus, one is very interested to learn that a token was issued by a Baptist bookseller and publisher of Aylesbury, Stephen Dagnall. It was an excellent idea to form a gazetteer of tokens and museums, and indicate the classes of contemporary record; even though these tend to local history rather than numismatics, the history of the tokens will ultimately have to be written out of knowledge of local conditions.

One must draw attention to the excessive number of printing errors, especially in the spelling of names. More substantially, the mention of dies on page 14 must mean punches; Conder is a catalogue of eighteenth-century tokens only, and not the first of those; and is the Taunton device of T and tun so very weak when one recalls that a name for T is Tau? Nevertheless, in very modest format Mr. Berry has provided us with a work fit to stand beside Mathias's *English Trade Tokens* for the later periods, as the best introduction to seventeenth-century tokens.

R. H. T.

Specious Tokens and those Struck for General Circulation 1784-1804. By R. C. BELL, M.B., F.R.C.S. Published by Corbitt & Hunter Ltd. Newcastle upon Tyne, 1968. xvii, 257 pp., illustrated. 60s.

THIS is the fourth book from Mr. Bell in the series of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century tokens. The format follows closely the attractive pattern already established and, once again, the author has produced a most readable book containing a wealth of fascinating information which has hitherto not been generally available.

Mr. Bell continues the scheme adopted in his earlier books in which he breaks these series of tokens into manageable groups. The present one is taken largely from the eighteenth-century series and for it he revives the term 'specious', 'specious' tokens being those which bear an original design and simulate a genuine commercial coin. They were produced to mislead collectors, and the author warns that it may be difficult to be sure whether a particular piece is specious or genuine. Each token is illustrated by photographic illustrations, mostly of a high quality. References are given to Dalton and Hamer numbers: the tokens are each described carefully and clearly and, where known, the names of diesinkers are given together with an estimate of the rarity of each piece. There follows, in each case, a potpourri of notes which are often similar to those that R. T. Samuel wrote in his long series of articles in the *Bazaar*, *Exchange* and *Mart* published in the 1880s.

Specious Tokens etc. will undoubtedly be of considerable value to coin-collectors who are beginning to explore the delights of this fascinating series. The information Mr. Bell packs in leads the reader into a feast of highways and byways which illustrate effectively the atmosphere of the times.

It may not be unfair to say, however, that some numismatists will be less delighted. Nowhere in

the author's introduction could your reviewer find out what was the purpose of the book. Nor is there any clear acknowledgement by Mr. Bell of his indebtedness to Pye who above all of his contemporaries noticed the 'specious' and 'spurious' issues. It is probably the only half-hearted acknowledgement of his sources that reduces the value of this as a serious numismatic study. Moreover, what notes there are appear to be haphazardly selected. Taking the broadest view, it can be argued of course that as these tokens derive from the grass-roots of British life, any little bits of information are pertinent. The difficulty comes in seeing that there must be a boundary somewhere between the relevant and the irrelevant. Why does the author give over two pages to Sir Bevois (Peter Kempson no. 8) and only a few lines on, say, the Bath Association (Peter Kempson no. 1)? Your reviewer thought it was a pity, too, that there is no table of contents anywhere. It would highlight that aspect of the book from which there is an important lesson to be gained. It is most refreshing to find a move here to clustering tokens round manufacturers. Other studies that begin from this base may well prove more fruitful than those that simply see tokens as illustrations of a social and economic situation. Mr. Bell foreshadows the serious numismatic work that lies ahead.

D. R. D. EDMUNDS

OTHER LIBRARY ACCESSIONS, AND PERIODICAL LITERATURE (APART FROM THIS JOURNAL, *COINS* AND ITS *ANNUAL*, THE *NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE*, SPINK'S *NUMISMATIC CIRCULAR*, AND *SEABY'S COIN AND MEDAL BULLETIN*)

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* Works asterisked have been added to the library by exchange, purchase, or donation. The librarian acknowledges with gratitude those donations also which would be out of place in this list.

OBITUARIES

A. H. F. BALDWIN

No one who frequented the London coin dealers as assiduously as I did during the years 1937 to 1959 can fail to have retained a clear cut recollection of Mr. A. H. F. Baldwin.

To the other members of that so friendly family business he was inevitably and invariably 'Uncle Fred'. My early impression was of a rather square-cut person whose appraisal of one through his gold-rimmed spectacles was a little intimidating. It was evident that his knowledge of coins was all embracing. Were you at Robert Street merely in the hope of picking up a rare piece, you were made to feel that he didn't really approve of you. Like the photograph of his father over the mantel shelf—the G.O.M. and founder of the firm—respectfully referred to by everyone as 'Grandfather', you were give a severe disapproving look.

But once Mr. Fred realized that you were a student and wanted to learn, then the ice thawed and he became genial and benevolent. How many times did he produce a discreet paper package from some dusty corner of that large room—'Something', he would say, 'that Grandfather had put aside for his own collection.' One was free to examine and to gloat over such treasures, though to get them priced on the spot was difficult, though one never had to wait many days.

Then came the day when Mr. Fred took me in a taxi to visit Mr. Lockett to see his coins of Henry VII. This was a kindness done to me because Robert Street had accepted me as a *bona fide* student, and because Mr. Fred appreciated what immense benefit I would derive through Mr. Lockett generously letting me ponder and pore over his coins.

Mr. Fred was a master of his craft. His working knowledge of the English series was only to be equalled, and perhaps surpassed in later years, by his nephew Albert.

I recall too an invitation to visit Uncle Fred at his Richmond home in company with C. A. Whitton. We were not shown many coins—just one modest tray of groats of the Plantagenets and Tudors that kept us gaping and gasping for most of that afternoon.

Mr. Fred was a bachelor and told us an amusing story of the frightful penalties he was ready to inflict on his housekeeper should she dare to enter and disturb the ordered untidiness of his personal coin room.

This Society had a good friend in Fred Baldwin. Always eager to recruit new members among the genuinely studious of his clients, he was, in the early days of my visiting Robert Street, a regular attendant at this Society's meetings. He was on the Council in 1938-9 and gave the Council sound practical advice in those difficult days.

He was a keen golfer and played regularly until well into his gathering old age. A life of hard work and regular doses of fresh air and exercise kept him young looking until well into his eighties. I remember noting on the last occasion that I saw him, when he was semi-retired and came to Robert Street less regularly, that the hand of time had been gentle with him. The hair was quite white, the physical frame a little shrunken, but his posture and carriage still upright.

There must be many regular visitors to Robert Street who could fill in more interesting details than these random recollections. They would all agree that with the passing of Uncle Fred the coin student has lost a good friend and the coin business a prominent figure.

E. J. W.

J. D. A. THOMPSON

JAMES DAVID ANTHONY THOMPSON, whose death took place on 3 September 1970, was born 29 July 1914, the only child of the late Revd. J. M. Thompson and of Mrs. Thompson. His father was a distinguished theologian and in later life devoted himself to history.

Anthony Thompson went to Radley, but after a year there his health broke down and his education was continued at home and with a tutor, a Mr. Goldie, a keen Roman numismatist. This, coupled with the gift of a small family collection of coins, started his interest in the subject. Between the ages of 15 and 16 he went to the Ruskin School of Drawing and Fine Art in Oxford where he spent five or six happy years under Albert Rutherston and Barnet Freedman. He planned to become an artist but, encouraged by J. G. Milne, and E. T. Leeds, his interest in numismatics gradually developed, stimulated by an already considerable love of history.

The sea was in his blood: his maternal forebears had been sailors, captains of their own small trading schooners, and on his father's side there had been Samuel Paget, a ship-owner. In 1797 the Dutch fleet under Admiral de Winter was reported out of port and Paget supplied the English fleet with fresh water in the 'amazing short time of twentyfour hours', so that it was able to put to sea and meet the Dutch fleet the next day to win the battle of Camperdown. Paget was awarded a gold medal (perhaps the only civilian to have been given a naval medal) and, in publicly thanking him, Admiral Lord Duncan said 'This is the man who won the battle.' It is sad to end this story by having to record that the medal was stolen from one of the family in 1926.

Thompson himself would dearly have liked to join the navy, but his health did not permit it; so he did the next best thing by pursuing his studies on naval history and medals, on which he wrote in various journals including our own.

In 1936 he started to work in the Heberden Coin Room at the Ashmolean Museum on a part-time basis under Milne, and during the Second World War devoted the remainder of his time to the P.O.W. Educational Centre. From 1957 until his death he was an assistant keeper in the Coin Room, primarily engaged on the medieval and modern series.

In 1950 three members of the Heberden Coin Room staff joined in writing a book for young collectors. Dr. Milne wrote the Greek section and Dr. Sutherland the Roman; Thompson contributed the largest section, dealing with medieval and modern coins of the British Isles, the continent of Europe, and the British Empire as well as a chapter on tokens and jettons. This book has been aptly described as remaining one of the best of its kind.

Thompson early recognized that an index of hoards from the British Isles was one of the tools most needed by students of the series and for many years collected material



COINS TO ILLUSTRATE THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

to fill this need. The result was the publication in 1956 by the Royal Numismatic Society, as the first of its Special Publications, of his *Inventory of British Coin Hoards A.D. 600–1530* in which he recorded nearly 400 finds. How wide he cast his net in seeking these out may be gauged from the bibliography that appears at the beginning and, in addition to examining county journals, he was able to record some finds that were known only from hitherto unpublished accounts. The book has, at times, been subjected to criticism, but it is probably fair to say that some of this fails to take adequate account of the great advance that has been made in English numismatic studies since it was written or to give sufficient recognition to the pioneer nature of the work. It would, however, be equally fair to say that were it to be undertaken today—and a revised edition would be a welcome contribution to our studies—a number of corrections would fall to be made, and it would be wise not to attempt to record the hoards in the detail Thompson sought to do but to leave it to the student himself to refer back to the original sources. But such a judgement is made with the benefit of hind-sight and there can be little doubt that most students of the series find themselves frequently referring to a book to which so much industry was applied.

Thompson's other important work was the publication in 1967, in the British Academy series *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles*, of a catalogue of the Anglo-Saxon pennies in the Ashmolean Museum. The museum houses one of the great public collections and has been brought to its present position largely by the deposit there of the coins belonging to the Bodleian Library and those of many colleges, though discriminating purchases have not been lacking. It is pleasing to be able to record that this catalogue has met with universal approbation.

Finally a word must be said of Thompson, the man. He was a person of considerable sensibility and this made him easily discouraged by criticism. Equally, he responded readily to encouragement. He was particularly sympathetic to inquiries and was prepared to go to great pains in dealing with them, whether they came from a scholar or student of standing or from the veriest tyro. His knowledge was wide-ranging and was readily offered to anyone who sought it. He was essentially a likeable man and will be greatly missed by his many friends who were so often indebted to him for help and advice.

C. E. B.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, 1970

(For Officers and Council for 1970 see vol. xxxviii, p. 201)

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, 27 January, Mr. Lyon, President, in the chair, the President announced the death of Mr. F. Baldwin, elected in 1923, and of Colonel Linton, elected in 1950. Mrs. E. Delmé-Radcliffe, Mr. T. J. Robertson, and the Numismatic Society of Nottinghamshire were elected to Ordinary Membership. Mr. Robertson was admitted to Ordinary Membership. Mr. Rayner read a paper entitled 'Sources of silver bullion supplied to the Royal Mint during the first quarter of the 18th century'.

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, 24 February, Mr. Lyon, President, in the chair, the Medway Towns Numismatic Society was elected to Ordinary Membership, and Mr. T. W. P. Heneage and Mr. D. W. Williams were elected to Junior Membership. Mrs. Delmé-Radcliffe and Mr. Leach were admitted to Ordinary Membership. Mr. Woodhead read a paper on the early coinage of Edward III.

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, 24 March, Mr. Lyon, President, in the chair, Mr. P. Dunion was elected to Ordinary Membership, and Mr. P. Sellew to Junior Membership. Mr. Dolley read a paper entitled 'Some recent finds of English and other coins in Ireland'.

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, 28 April, Mr. Stewart, Director, in the chair, Mr. D. J. Gaunt was elected to Ordinary Membership. The evening was devoted to short papers and exhibits relating to the nineteenth century.

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, 26 May, Mr. Lyon, President, in the chair, Mr. C. Brunel, Mr. A. Douch, Mr. R. A. Farey, Mr. M. J. Harris, and Mr. J. S. O'Connor were elected to Ordinary Membership; and Mr. R. A. Merson was elected to Junior Membership. Mr. John Bannon, of the Scientific Survey and Location Ltd., read a paper on the salvage of *De Liefde*.

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, 23 June, Mr. Lyon, President, in the chair, the President welcomed as guests Dr. Rasmusson of the Royal Swedish Coin Cabinet, and Mrs. Rasmusson. The President also announced the death of Mr. Laing, a member since 1956. Mr. Blunt read a paper on mules occurring in the coinage of Æthelstan. Mr. Rigold then read a paper on the occurrence of gold coins in Britain in the sixth and seventh centuries.

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, 22 September, Mr. Lyon, President, in the chair, the President announced the death of Mr. Anthony Thompson, and asked Members to rise as a tribute to him. Mr. P. R. Davies, Mr. P. J. Morley, Mr. A. J. Nathanson, and Mr. J. Read-Brewster were elected to Ordinary Membership. Mr. Brunel and Mr. Mernick were admitted to Ordinary Membership.

and Mr. Merson was admitted to Junior Membership. Mr. P. H. Sawyer read a paper entitled 'Silver supply and coinage in the eleventh century'.

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, 27 October, Mr. Lyon, President, in the chair, Mr. J. Enright, Mr. A. A. Stoler, and The Library, University College, Dublin, were elected to Ordinary Membership. Miss M. M. Archibald read a paper on the 1969 Colchester hoard.

At the Anniversary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, 25 November, Mr. Lyon, President, in the chair, Mr. A. J. Broad, Mrs. Marie-Louise Burgess, Mr. R. Davis, Mr. K. H. Rosenberg, Hampshire County Library, Winchester, the Public Library, Batley, the Library, Darlington, the City Libraries, Kingston-upon-Hull, and the City Library, Exeter were elected to Ordinary Membership. Mr. Davis was admitted to Ordinary Membership.

The following Officers and Council were elected for 1971:

President: S. E. Rigold, M.A., F.S.A.

Vice-Presidents: D. F. Allen, C.B., M.A., F.B.A., F.S.A.; C. E. Blunt, O.B.E., F.B.A., F.S.A.; G. V. Doubleday; H. H. King, M.A.; H. Schneider; E. J. Winstanley, L.D.S.

Director: B. H. I. H. Stewart, M.A., F.S.A., F.S.A.Scot.

Treasurer: Clifford H. Allen, F.C.A.

Secretary: W. Slayter.

Librarian: R. H. Thompson.

Council: Miss M. M. Archibald, M.A.; J. Brand, F.C.A.; D. R. D. Edmunds, M.A.; R. N. P. Hawkins; Major C. W. Lister, R.A.; D. M. Metcalf, M.A., D.Phil.; H. R. Mossop, D.F.C.; Mrs. J. E. L. Murray, M.B.E., M.A.; H. Pagan, B.A.; J. Porteous, M.A.; D. L. F. Sealy, B.Sc.; R. J. Seaman; Dr. G. V. L. Tatler; P. Woodhead.

Mr. Lyon delivered his Presidential Address.

EXHIBITIONS

February

By Mr. Michael Dolley, on behalf of V. Britton, Esq., Rossnowlagh.

Three early 'Harps' or 'Dominick Grotes' of Henry VIII, found together by Rossnowlagh Strand.

1. i.m. crown (10 oz. fine) H.R.
2. i.m. leaf (9 oz. fine) H.R.
3. i.m. leaf (9 oz. fine) H.R.

Concealment before summer 1541?

April

By Mr. Fearon

1. Silver medal by Mills and Mudie, struck on the death of Princess Charlotte.
2. Impressions from the original pair of dies, now in his possession.

By Mr. Hawkins

1. An échantillon, or sample striking, from a coin press made by Maudslay Sons & Field, London.
2. A small disc bearing the above firm's name on one face.

By Mr. R. H. Thompson

A counterfeit George III Bank of England dollar 1804. Probably of base silver, weighing 325 grains (21.06 g.), against the weight of 416 grains (17 g.) for a genuine dollar.

By Mr. Ian Stewart, exhibits relating to the Dipple hoard of 1868.

1. A letter of 10 October 1868.
2. A map of the area of the hoard, with record of the discovery.
3. A David II Edinburgh groat, and two Robert II Perth groats, from the hoard.

By Mr. W. Slayter

1. Medal for the signing of the Treaty of Amiens, by Küchler, struck by Matthew Boulton in 1802. In original case, as issued by the Soho mint.
2. The Seringatapam Medal, issued by the Honourable East India Company in 1808. Designed by Küchler, and struck by Matthew Boulton. Tin medal, as issued to native soldiers.
3. Bronzed proof penny, of Boulton's third coinage. In original case.
4. A silver medal issued by the Royal Mint on the visit to the Mint by the Duke of York, later King George V, in 1894.

May

By Mr. John Bannon

Seven Netherlands coins from *De Liefde*.

By Mr. Porteous

Eight Netherlands coins, four from *De Liefde*.

June

By Mr. Blunt

A penny of Æthelstan, being a mule between the cross and the early two line types.

By Mr. Pagan

An extract from an annotated copy of a sale catalogue by Sotheby, May 1844, associating a number of forgeries of English coins with the famous forger Edward Emery, active 1841–1849.

By Mr. Rigold

A. Casts of some Merovingian coins found in England, and already published.

- 1 and 2. From Sibertswold, Kent, mints of Marsal and Verdun: Liverpool Museum, ex Rolfe.

3. From Littlebourne, Kent, mint of Nenteraco (?Nitry, Yonne): Ashmolean Museum, ex Rolfe.
4. From Brockam, Surrey, mint of Metz: British Museum.
5. From Folkestone, Kent, mint of Locus Sanctus (probably Lieusaint-en-Brie): ex Lockett and Carlyon-Britton.
- B. Photographs of a 'hoard', i.e. a grave-group of mounted Merovingian coins, presumably from one necklace, c. 590, from King's Field cemetery, Faversham, Kent, British Museum since 1900, ex Franks, but unpublished.
1. Justin II, mint of Arles.
2. Justin II, mint of Marseille.
3. Similar to 1 or 2, overstruck, possibly at Agen.
4. Similar, quasi-imperial, south Gaulish, garbled.
5. Bodenex, mint of Lisieux.
6. Francio, mint of Campbon, Loire Atlantique.

Full publication in progress.

October

By Mr. Hawkins

A photostat of an obverse of a one pound note, with Arabic inscription reverse, dating from the period of the Second World War, this being an alleged message by Hitler to the Arabs.

ADDRESS BY STEWART LYON

PRESIDENT OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

HISTORICAL PROBLEMS OF ANGLO-SAXON COINAGE—(4) THE VIKING AGE

Introduction

TWO years ago I reviewed the coinage of the ninth century in an attempt to identify the areas in which the numismatic evidence appeared to have a significant bearing on the political history of the period. This year, in my final Address, my aim is to draw attention to the significance of the coins for the political and economic history of the century and a half from Alfred's treaty with the Danes which followed the capture of London in 886 until the end of Danish rule in England in 1042.

The volume of the material is so great that in the course of a short address I can do little more than illustrate the results of past numismatic research and point the direction for future work.

The Cuerdale hoard

Our knowledge of the coinage of England during the last fifteen years of the ninth century is heavily dependent on the enigmatic Cuerdale hoard of 1840. Cuerdale is the name for the area on the south bank of the Ribble, just east of Preston, where nowadays the M6 motorway crosses the river. In the first volume of the *British Numismatic Journal*¹ W. J. Andrew recorded a tradition long held by the people of Walton-le-Dale, the village at the south-western end of Cuerdale, that 'if you stood on the headland and looked up the valley of the Ribble, towards Ribchester, you would gaze over the greatest treasure that England had ever seen. So firmly was belief in the truth of the legend impressed on the minds of the farmers', wrote Andrew, 'that several attempts were made to discover the treasure: indeed, only some thirty years before its discovery, one of them ploughed a field near the actual site, twice over in the same furrows, in the hope of gaining the trove.'

The hoard was discovered by a labourer who was removing earth from a ridge about forty yards from the river. The chest in which it was contained could therefore have been buried by someone who was setting out on a voyage over the Irish Sea, or who was returning from such a voyage; alternatively its owner might have been using the Roman road from Wigan which must have crossed the river at Walton-le-Dale.² The contents amounted to at least 7,000 coins and nearly one thousand ounces of silver ingots, ornaments, etc. To put this in perspective the coins would have weighed about 300 Troy ounces, barely a quarter of the total weight of the treasure. If we take a Troy ounce as being rather more than the weight of four Anglo-Saxon shillings of silver³ the Cuerdale treasure must have weighed in the region of 6,000 of these shillings, or five-sixths of a king's simple *wergild* or blood price. This is a substantial sum by any reckoning.

¹ *BNJ* i (1904), pp. 12–16.

² I. D. Margary, *Roman Roads in Britain*, revised edition (London, 1967), p. 369.

³ See my previous Address on denominations and weights (*BNJ* xxxviii (1969), at p. 218).

The coins in the hoard are remarkable in many respects. If we exclude the handful of Kufic coins those in the names of English kings and archbishops account for one part in seven; Carolingian and other continental coins for another part; the memorial coinage to the martyred king Edmund of East Anglia two parts, and the so-called Northumbrian viking coinage the remaining three parts.

Of the southern English coins, only one, of Archbishop Ceolnoth,¹ can be dated with confidence to before c. 874. There were no coins of the *lunette* type which was current when Alfred came to the throne in 871 and which appears to have been continued for the first few years of his reign. The great majority were of the non-portrait issues of Alfred which seem to have superseded the *London monogram* and similar portrait types towards the end of the 880s.² But about fifty were portrait and non-portrait coins of Edward the Elder by no fewer than twelve moneyers, together with two pence of Bath with no moneyer's name. Since all but one of these moneyers used very similar reverse dies in Alfred's reign it seems likely that the latest English coin in the hoard dates from within five years after Alfred's death. It is interesting to note that the range of the twenty-six weighed pennies of Edward in *BMC* (excluding the Museum's Bath penny) is 23.2 to 25.7 grains (1.50–1.67 g.) with an average of 24.5 grains (1.59 g.); the Bath penny weighs 28.0 grains (1.81 g.).

Among the continental coins was an Italian fragment issued in the names of Pope Benedict IV and Louis the Blind. It appears to be limited in date to 901–3 since Louis was not crowned emperor until 901 and Benedict died in 903. There were also a number of coins of Lotharingia which have been attributed to Louis the Child (900–11). These are the latest coins that can be at all closely dated, and they appear to be contemporary with the latest English coins in the hoard. The bulk of the continental coins, however, were from mints in Aquitaine and the Loire valley. More than 70 per cent of them bore the name 'Charles', either literally as *Carlus* or in the form of the *Karolus* monogram. These could be coins of Charles the Bald (d. 877), Charles the Simple (king of all Francia from the death of Odo in 898) or coins of a *type immobilisé* issued between these dates. In the case of the mint of Melle, which accounts for about five out of six coins of 'Charles', the type seems to have been immobilized, but even at the mints which also struck in the name of Odo, who usurped the throne from 887 till 898, the 'Charles' coins still have not been satisfactorily divided between those struck before his reign and those minted afterwards. It might help our understanding of the origins of the Cuerdale hoard if this were to be done.³

Looking at the coins of Odo as a clear example of an issue which is contemporary with the bulk of the English coins in Cuerdale, we find that nearly 60 per cent are from the mint of Limoges. With the caution that the coins in the *BM Sylloge* greatly under-represent that mint, it can be noted that their average weight is 25.7 grains (1.67 g.), about 5 per cent higher than the English coins of Edward the Elder.

Nearly as large as the southern English and the continental group together was the segment of the hoard representing the memorial coinage to Edmund of East Anglia,

¹ *BMC(AS)* i, p. 77, no. 57. For the dating of coins of this type to c. 845–c. 852 see my Address on the ninth century (*BNJ* xxxvii (1968), pp. 216–38, at pp. 220–1 and 227).

² See *BNJ* xxxvii (1968), p. 237, and the references there cited.

³ As an indication of the possibilities Mr. H. E. Pagan has drawn my attention to die-duplication between coins in a pre-Odo hoard from Saumeray (*Revue numismatique*, 1965) and coins from the Cuerdale hoard in the *BM Carolingian Sylloge*.

who had been murdered by the Danes in 870. Invoking the name of the canonized martyr,¹ the originators of the series used designs for obverse and reverse which were traditional in East Anglia. In a recent paper commemorating the 1100th anniversary of Edmund's martyrdom, C. E. Blunt says that 'bearing in mind the fact that East Anglia had had an active mint or mints in the lifetime of Edmund and that the numismatic evidence points clearly to there having been substantial issues there in the later years of Edward the Elder, there seem good grounds for believing that the St. Edmund coins . . . were for the most part issued from one or more mints in East Anglia'. He goes on to suggest that the great number and variety of the coins found at Cuerdale is not inconsistent with an issue which could by then have lasted ten years, pointing to the king having been recognized as a saint little more than twenty years after his death.²

There are two features of particular interest in the St. Edmund coinage. One is the Germanic flavour of the list of moneyers;³ the other is the metrology of the coins. A distribution of the weights of 633 Cuerdale pence in the British Museum shows a median weight of almost exactly 21 grains (1.36 g.), with fewer than a quarter of the coins weighing 22 grains or more.⁴ It appears therefore that the weight standard of the St. Edmund coins in the Cuerdale hoard was barely five-sixths that of the contemporary issues from mints in the area under English control, and four-fifths of the standard in use in Francia.

The difference in weight standards is significant. As I have argued previously,⁵ Alfred raised the weight standard of the coinage under his control from its previous level of around 20 grains (1.30 g.) to over 24 grains (1.56 g.) beginning with the *London monogram* type. The ninth-century East Anglian coinage was marginally heavier on average (c. 21 grains) than that of Wessex, and the St. Edmund coinage was in the East Anglian tradition. Notwithstanding the Germanic names of the moneyers, it is hard to take seriously the argument advanced by F. Banks that the coins were a gift to the impoverished church in East Anglia from their brethren on the Continent.⁶ The duration of the issue, and its gradual degeneration in both style and, subsequent to Cuerdale, in weight also, make nonsense of this theory.

If the St. Edmund coinage still leaves us with unsolved problems they are minor ones compared with those presented by the viking coinage which comprises three of the seven parts of the hoard. Like the St. Edmund coinage it would be little known to us today were it not for this hoard; as it is, we have 3,000 coins. Most are in the names of one or other of two kings, Siefred or Sievert and Cnut; the evidence of a study of the dies is that the coins in the name of Cnut are, in general, the later.⁷ Many bear the name of a city, *Ebraice civitas*; more have an enigmatic substitute in the word *Cunnetti*; the two groups are joined through common dies in the name of Cnut. A fair number of coins have ecclesiastical inscriptions on one or both sides, namely *Dñs* (i.e. *Dominus*) *Deus O* (i.e. *Omnipotens*) *Rex* and/or *Mirabilia Fecit*. A few bear the *Karolus* monogram—a clear link with the Continent. Some imitative pieces in the name of Cnut carry the name of the Frankish port of Quentovic.

¹ Early coins of the series use the vocative form *Sec Eadmund Rex*.

² C. E. Blunt, 'The St. Edmund Memorial Coinage', in *The Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology* (vol. xxxi, part 3 (1969), pp. 234–54 at p. 253.)

³ *Ibid.*, p. 242.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 250.

⁵ *BNJ* xxxviii (1969), p. 213.

⁶ F. Banks, *The Problem of Cuerdale* (Newcastle, 1967).

⁷ C. S. S. Lyon and B. H. I. H. Stewart, 'The Northumbrian Viking Coins in the Cuerdale Hoard', in *Anglo-Saxon Coins*, ed. Dolley (London, 1961), pp. 96–121.

Once again Banks sees this as a coinage struck on the Continent and sent as a gift to the impoverished church in the Danelaw. Once again, however, the weights of the coins are in the ninth-century English tradition, and there is sufficient variation in style and internal evidence of appreciable duration for a single donation to be ruled out. The obvious interpretation of *Ebraice* is that it is a Latinizing of York, unusual in that the Roman name of the city was *Eboracum* but not unusual in that the feminine gender is normally adopted in ninth-century English mint-signatures.¹ The combination of the *Karolus* monogram with *Ebraice* stresses the Frankish inspiration of the coinage but does not destroy the attribution to York, for the same combination is found on a post-Cuerdale issue of coins in the name of St. Peter, and its gradual evolution on that coinage to the form *Eborace* is conclusive. The arguments have been well stated by B. H. I. H. Stewart² and there is no need to repeat them here.

We are still left, however, with the problem of the identity of Siefred/Sievert and Cnut, and the meaning of *Cunnetti*. Since the chronicler Æthelweard refers to a pirate named Sigferth from the land of the Northumbrians, who raided Devonshire in 893–4, it seems reasonable to identify him with the Siefred/Sievert of the coins. But York appears to have been ruled by one Guthfrith until 895;³ whoever Cnut was he was not Guthfrith, as numismatists at one time believed, for it is clear that the coinage in the name of Cnut continued until close to the deposition of the hoard or even beyond. Speculation about the meaning of *Cunnetti* continues unabated: in particular are the coins to be read as a whole, viz. *Cnut rex Cunnetti*, or not?⁴

There is another problem presented by the hoard, namely the large quantity of imitative coins which it contained. Mostly these copied Alfred's *London monogram* and non-portrait *two-line* types. Many can be distinguished by their crude style and blundered inscriptions; others can be identified by their light weight.⁵ But there is a puzzling group of coins which can scarcely be described as imitative, for they have a distinctive obverse inscription *Ælfred* (or *Elfred*) *Orsnaforda* (or *Ohsnaforda*); the moneyer's name is Bernwald. These used to be attributed to a mint at Oxford.⁶ However, their average weight⁷ is more in keeping with Danelaw minting, and Messrs. Dolley and Blunt have mentioned the possibility of Horsforth, now part of Leeds.⁸ An obvious difficulty in accepting this attribution (assuming it is philologically acceptable) lies in the use of Alfred's name so close to the viking mint of York. This is reinforced by the presence in the Cuerdale hoard of a coin of Bernwald of southern style in the name of Edward the Elder. Without denying that most of the *Orsnaforda* coins are Danelaw imitations I think the similarity of style of one or two of them (which read *Ohsnaforda*) with the coin

¹ Cf. *Dorovernia* (Canterbury), *Dorobrevia* (Rochester), *Londinia* (London, in the monogram on Alfred's coins).

² 'The Early Viking Mint at York', *SCMB* Dec. 1967, pp. 454–61.

³ F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1947), p. 259.

⁴ For a full discussion see Lyon and Stewart, art. cit.

⁵ Miss M. M. Archibald has suggested to me that this approach is particularly relevant to the *London monogram* issue. It may also apply to the non-portrait types, our knowledge of which is dominated by

Cuerdale. For example, the Vatican hoard of c. 1928 (*BNJ* xxxiii (1964), pp. 7–29), deposited early in Athelstan's reign, contained eighteen coins of Alfred, only two of which weighed less than 23.5 grains (1.53 g.).

⁶ This attribution was rejected by C. L. Stainer (*Oxford Silver Pennies*, Oxford, 1904).

⁷ 21.2 grains for thirty coins (*BMC* 118–47).

⁸ R. H. M. Dolley and C. E. Blunt, 'The Chronology of the Coins of Ælfred the Great, 871–99', in *Anglo-Saxon Coins* at p. 91. The argument is supported by reference to the use of a 'cross on steps' on one of Bernwald's coins, similar to that used by Siefred.

of Edward the Elder suggests that the prototype was southern and may indeed have been from Oxford (Pl. IX, 11–12; significantly, the Alfred coin is of full weight).

Finally, for the deposition of the hoard it would be hard to improve on the generally accepted dating of *c.* 903. In his Presidential Address to the Royal Numismatic Society in 1958 Mr. Blunt drew attention to an apparent influx of Irish-Norwegians into Lancashire after their expulsion from Ireland in 902, and suggested that it might 'have its relevance in considering the circumstances in which the Cuerdale hoard came to be deposited'.¹ Mr. Blunt has for personal as well as numismatic reasons made a special study of this hoard over many years, and it is fitting that he should retain the last word on the subject.

Edward the Elder to Edgar's reform

The numismatic history of the seventy years after the burial of the treasure at Cuerdale follows the varying success of the English kings in their struggle to reconquer the Danelaw. The English coinage was based essentially on the *non-portrait/two line horizontal inscription* type introduced by Alfred, with intermissions of portrait coins, pictorial reverses, and circular reverse inscriptions bearing the name of the mint. The ultimate coinage of the Norse kings of York in the middle of the century copied the English, but their earlier coins incorporated Scandinavian motifs.

Although smaller hoards generally cover a more compact period, the Chester hoard of 1950, which was deposited late in Edgar's reign, includes coins of Edward the Elder and even a single coin of Alfred.² This suggests that there was no complete recoinage between *c.* 887 and *c.* 973, though a glance at a tray of pence of Edward the Elder will show from the evidence of 'overstrikes'³ that some reminting took place.

The tenth century saw the expansion of the number of mints from a few major cities into a network including most boroughs. The majority of the coins issued before Edgar's reform do not bear the name of the mint, and their classification rests firstly on regional styles of lettering and ornaments,⁴ and secondly on the association of mint-signed and unsigned coins bearing the same moneyer's name and having the same epigraphic style. A detailed study of the coinage as a whole is needed, and it is to be hoped that the two scholars who have worked most closely in this field—Mr. Blunt and Mr. Dolley—will publish one.

Among the mints named on the coins is *Weardburh*, which must surely be identified with the fortress built by Alfred's daughter Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians, in 915.⁵ In view of the doubt which exists today about its location it is of no little interest that it was sufficiently enduring to possess a mint, not only in Æthelstan's reign but also in Edgar's, as F. Elmore Jones and C. E. Blunt have shown.⁶ They point to the title given to

¹ NC 1958, 'The President's Address', p. 8.

² BNJ xxvii (1953), pp. 125–60.

³ i.e. the striking of a new coin using an old coin as though it were a blank.

⁴ See, for example, R. H. M. Dolley and D. M. Metcalf, 'The Reform of the English Coinage under Eadgar', in *Anglo-Saxon Coins*, pp. 136–68.

⁵ For an assessment of Æthelflæd's achievement see F. T. Wainwright, 'Æthelflæd Lady of the Mercians' in *The Anglo-Saxons*, ed. P. Clemoes (Cambridge,

1959), pp. 53–69. On a personal note Dr. Wainwright taught me history at school and was largely responsible for stimulating my interest in the Anglo-Saxon period. A pupil of Sir Frank Stenton, his untimely death was a loss to numismatics and to the study of place-names as well as dark-age history.

⁶ F. Elmore Jones and C. E. Blunt, 'The Tenth-century Mint 'Æt Weardbyrig'', BNJ xxviii (1957), pp. 494–8.

Æthelstan on his two surviving coins of *Weardburh* as only known otherwise on coins of Gloucester, Hereford, and Stafford, and the moneyer's name as otherwise occurring at Shrewsbury, and suggest a very tentative attribution of the *Weardburh* coins to the West Midlands, possibly to the country that marched with Wales.

The post-Cuerdale viking coinages of the tenth century begin with the St. Peter pence of York, which may have been an ecclesiastical issue in the tradition of the *Dominus Deus* series¹ or alternatively a municipal issue.² These were the St. Peter coins without sword, and their style gradually degenerated, as did their weight and diameter. In this respect they parallel the later St. Edmund coinage. The chronology of the St. Peter series has been discussed most recently by B. H. I. H. Stewart,³ who has shown on the hoard evidence that the latest St. Peter coins, depicting a sword on the obverse and a mallet on the reverse cannot be dated much, if at all, before 925.⁴ In suggesting, too, that the very rare St. Martin coinage of Lincoln may date from the early or mid 920s he modifies the dating of both series as expounded by Mr. Dolley in his useful monograph *Viking Coins of the Danelaw and of Dublin*.⁵ They may even have continued beyond the death in 926–7 of the Norse king Sihtric Caoch, of whom there are very rare coins with a design similar to the earliest of the sword St. Peter's (i.e. those with a cross on the reverse). Thus Athelstan's capture of York may not have led to the immediate cessation of the Viking coinages, although York certainly became a major mint for the English king.

When Athelstan died in 939 Anlaf Guthfrithsson, king of Dublin, invaded Northumbria and occupied York; next year a treaty with Edmund gave him Leicester, Derby, Nottingham, and Lincoln as well. The viking coinage from 939 to 944, when it is recorded that Edmund expelled Anlaf Guthfrithsson's successors, Anlaf Sihtricsson and Regnald Guthfrithsson, has been brilliantly reconstructed by Michael Dolley, who in the process has shown from the coins that there was a fourth king at York during this period, Sihtric Sihtricsson.⁶

The last chapter in the saga was written by Eric Bloodaxe, son of Harold Fairhair of Norway, who seized York for a time in 947–8 but was forced out by Eadred. Anlaf Sihtricsson was restored from 949 to 952, but Eric then returned, as Sir Frank Stenton puts it, 'in defiance alike of the Irish vikings and the king of England'.⁷ He was expelled again in 954 by the Northumbrians and Eadred finally regained the city. Mr. Dolley has also succeeded in identifying coins of each phase of this chapter which completes what Professor Gwyn Jones has called 'a kaleidoscopic picture of change'.⁸

For nearly twenty years the pedestrian English coinage continued, first under Eadwig and then under the young king Edgar. Some remarkable halfpence enlivened it,⁹ but whether it was the light weight of the pence or a debasement of their silver, or whether Edgar wished to mark his delayed coronation,¹⁰ there was a transformation in the last years of his reign which was to leave its mark on the coinage of the next three centuries.

¹ *Supra*, p. 195.

² Ian Stewart, 'The St. Martin Coins of Lincoln', *BNJ* xxxvi (1967), pp. 46–54 at p. 51, n. 1.

³ Art. cit.

⁴ For example, the 1958 hoard from Morley St. Peter, Norfolk, which was deposited early in Athelstan's reign, contained thirteen pence without sword and only one with sword; this had a cross, not a mallet, on the reverse.

⁵ Published by the Trustees of the British Museum, 1965.

⁶ R. H. M. Dolley, 'The Post-Brunanburh Viking Coinage of York', *NNA* 1957–8.

⁷ F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (2nd edn.), p. 356.

⁸ Gwyn Jones, *A History of the Vikings* (Oxford, 1968), p. 239.

⁹ C. E. Blunt, 'Two Anglo-Saxon Notes', *BNJ* xxxi (1962), at pp. 44–8.

¹⁰ Dolley and Metcalf, art. cit., p. 152.

Edgar's reform and its consequences

Whatever the reasons for Edgar's reform it resulted in virtually every English penny minted from then until 1278 bearing on the obverse the king's name and title and on the reverse the moneyer's name and the mint of issue. It resulted, too, in a series of changes of design, synchronized at all mints. While these changes may not have involved a complete recoinage of previous issues¹ they may well have led to the gradual changing of old money for new so that witnessed payments, and in particular payments of taxes, could be made in coins of the current issue. Unfortunately the documents are silent on this point, but a highly organized system such as this must have had a definite fiscal motive.

Until well into the reign of William the Conqueror there are variations of weight standard within each issue which in general are in a downward direction, with a recovery at the beginning of the next issue. Sometimes, however, the trend is reversed during the currency of an issue, the most striking example of this apparently coinciding with the abolition of *heregeld* in 1051. In the early issues at least, geographical variations in weight standards are found, as in Æthelred II's *crux* and *long cross* issues when the Winchester mint, like others in central Wessex, never varies from the initial standard of the issue while mints elsewhere in the country drop the standard by as much as 25 per cent. A detailed analysis of the metrology of nearly 35,000 coins from Edgar's reform to the Norman conquest is given in a recent publication by the Swedish historian Bertil Petersson which is essential reading for the serious student of the period.²

The scholar who has inspired and led the extensive research work that has been carried out into the post-reform coinages in the past two decades is, of course, Michael Dolley, and the results of his unparalleled zeal and enthusiasm have aroused much interest among historians. In one important respect I should, however, record my doubt, and that is his attempt to fit the coinage from Edgar's reform to the death of Cnut—a period of between sixty and sixty-two years—into ten more or less rigid sexennial issues. This mainly depends for its justification on certain aspects of the hoard evidence and on the identification of the opening or closing of certain mints with events mentioned in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.³ It also depends on classifying as two distinct issues the so-called *first hand* and *second hand* types of Æthelred, which are distinguished from one another too subtly for this judgement to have gained universal acceptance. Equally, however, I am reluctant to accept without more evidence Petersson's emendation of the ten sexennial issues to eight septennial issues and a final one of four years.⁴ It seems to me that the need for a new issue could have been influenced by some factor which did not recur at equal intervals: a possibility suggested by Petersson's own analysis is that the average weight of the coins in circulation was not allowed to fall below some critical figure.

In considering when the changes of design took place insufficient attention seems to have been paid to relating the composition of the Scandinavian hoards to the recorded circumstances in which the country was harried by the vikings and large tributes were

¹ See, for example, C. S. S. Lyon, 'Variations in Currency in Late Anglo-Saxon England,' *Mints, Dies and Currencies*, ed. R. A. G. Carson (London, 1971), at pp. 114–18.

² H. B. A. Petersson, *Anglo-Saxon Currency* (Lund, 1969). The text should, however, be read critically,

for it goes far beyond the evidence in its development and application of Sture Bolin's theory of overvalued coinage—see my review article just cited.

³ The evidence is reviewed, hypercritically, by Petersson at pp. 72–8.

⁴ Petersson, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

given. For example, the mints in the Thames estuary, especially Colchester, Maldon, and Southwark, are greatly over-represented in Æthelred's *crux* issue, including late (i.e. light) coins. This could relate either to Olaf Tryggvason's expedition of 991, when the battle of Maldon was fought and 10,000 pounds were paid, or to Olaf and Swein's assault on London of 994. Alternatively could not this latter attack, which was followed by the harrying of the coast of south-east England, the taking of winter quarters at Southampton, their forces being provisioned throughout the West Saxon kingdom and the payment to them of 16,000 pounds in money,¹ be connected with the large influx of early *long cross* coins into Scandinavia which has been demonstrated from H. R. Mossop's die-study of the mint of Lincoln?²

That the vikings left England for two or three years following Olaf's confirmation at Andover is borne out by the *Chronicle*. If their return to Scandinavia occasioned the influx of these coins, the *long cross* issue would have begun in 994, against Dolley's date of 997 and Petersson's of 996. But we would still have to account for the tributes of 24,000 pounds in 1002 and 36,000 pounds in 1007: the latter was paid during the currency of the *helmet* type according to both Dolley and Petersson, but that type is much scarcer in Scandinavian finds than either the *long cross* issue which preceded it or the *last small cross* type which followed it. Payments during this final issue of Æthelred, such as the 21,000 pounds in 1014, occasion no surprise, but if the sums of the previous decade were taken back to Scandinavia in coin it is not easy to determine in what currency they were paid. Pending a reconciliation of the hoards and the documents the chronology of Æthelred's coinage, particularly the middle issues, cannot be regarded as established beyond reasonable doubt, whether on Dolley's hypothesis or Petersson's.

Mint organization in late Anglo-Saxon England

In conclusion I would like to say a few words about the mint organization which is disclosed from a study of the post-reform issues of late Anglo-Saxon England. Apart from the inscriptions on the coins we have three principal tools which help us in deducing information about this organization. Two of these have already been mentioned in a pre-reform context, namely die-cutting style and metrology. For the post-reform issues style is a powerful weapon, because although different hands could produce very similar letter founts the portraits they engraved are easier to distinguish. It thus becomes possible to isolate schools of die-cutting within a particular issue. Combining the evidence of style with the evidence of metrology enables one to determine whether the hands concerned were at work simultaneously or consecutively.

It does not necessarily follow that because a particular hand can be identified with a particular mint or group of mints it was at work in that area. The possibility must always be admitted that a group of engravers worked at a centre such as London or Winchester and that each engraver serviced the mints in a given area. However, the more one examines the coins of Æthelred II and Cnut the less likely this explanation appears, for that period at least. The evidence of localized die-cutting is almost overwhelming at times.

Control of design from Winchester in the middle of Æthelred's reign can be demonstrated by the experiments that took place there before a design was changed. The

¹ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, s.a. 994.

c. 890–1279 (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1970), p. 18 and

² H. R. Mossop and others, *The Lincoln Mint* Fig. 1.

attempt to introduce an intermediate *small cross* type between *crux* and *long cross* is an example.¹ But by the end of the reign the experiments were taking place in London. A startling example of this is the Bergen coin, broken into fragments, which depicts the king in a pointed helmet on a coin which is otherwise of the *last small cross* type (Pl. IX, 9).² The pointed helmet was not, in fact, used as a regular design till the issue next but one following.

The third tool which reinforces style and metrology is the die-link. If two coins are struck from the same pair of dies they are described as die duplicates, but if only one die is common to the two coins there is said to be an *obverse die-link* or a *reverse die-link* between them, according to whether the common die is the obverse or reverse respectively.³

The simplest example is where the common die links two obverse or reverse dies which differ only in detail. Such a case may indicate that the linked dies were used concurrently with the common die, or that one of the linked dies was superseded by the other during the lifetime of the common die. Links of this kind are useful to numismatists in establishing the chronology of a sequence of dies.

Sometimes the death or expulsion of one king and the accession of another did not immediately lead to a new issue but merely resulted in the king's name being changed on new obverse dies. A reverse die link between obverse dies of the two reigns establishes the first die as in use at the end of one reign and the second die at the beginning of the other. Such links occur between Edgar and Edward the Martyr, and between Edward the Martyr and Æthelred II, in the *first small cross* issue which began the reform.⁴ More significantly for its historical implications, a common reverse die links an obverse die of the ninth-century Archbishop Wulfhere of York with an obverse of each of the Northumbrian kings Æthelred and Osberht. On the strength of this and other numismatic evidence H. E. Pagan has recently proposed a revision of the dates of the kings and archbishops which have come down to us via Symeon of Durham and Roger of Wendover.⁵

A common form of obverse die-link is where an obverse die has been used by more than one moneyer at the same mint. This could mean that one moneyer was superseded by another, but more usually it indicates that obverse dies were not the exclusive property of one moneyer. In the thirteenth century it is commonplace to find multiple die-links involving all the moneyers at a mint, and in this case we can draw the conclusion that the obverse dies in use at the mint were stored together and were issued indiscriminately to the moneyers whenever work recommenced.⁶

¹ R. H. M. Dolley and F. Elmore Jones, 'An Intermediate Small Cross Issue of Æthelred II and Some Late Varieties of the Crux Type', *BNJ* xxviii (1955), pp. 75-87; also Ian Stewart, 'Notes on the Intermediate Small Cross and Transitional Crux Types of Ethelred II', *BNJ* xxxvii (1968), pp. 16-24.

² I am grateful to Mr. Dolley for supplying me with a photograph of this coin the significance of which was immediately apparent to him when he discovered it many years ago on a visit to Norway.

³ The most important study of this subject remains R. H. M. Dolley's paper, 'The Relevance of Obverse Die-links to Some Problems of the Later Anglo-Saxon

Coinage', *Commentationes*, i (Stockholm, 1961), pp. 155-72.

⁴ Edgar and Edward are linked by the York moneyer Dun (*BMC* Edgar 169 and *BMC* Edward 7; an unpublished die-link). A Stamford link between Edward and Æthelred was published by W. C. Wells in *BNJ* xxiv (1942), p. 77.

⁵ 'Northumbrian Numismatic Chronology in the Ninth Century', *BNJ* xxxviii (1969), pp. 1-15.

⁶ See, for example, the variations in die-linking at Lincoln as shown in the diagrams following the plates in Mossop.

The most interesting die-links from the point of view of mint organization, however, are those in which a common obverse die is found with reverse dies bearing different mint-signatures. If the moneyer is the same, and the mints are adjoining, the implication is that he serviced both mints. Die-links in this category include several between Winchester and Southampton in the reigns of Æthelred and Cnut.¹ There is also the important link in Cnut's *quatrefoil* type between Exeter and *Gothaburh* involving the Exeter moneyer Carla. This link, taken with the stylistic evidence of other coins, enabled Dolley and Elmore Jones to establish *Gothaburh* as a mint within reasonable distance of the Devon *burh* and possibly identical with the fortress of *Iudanburh* where Archbishop Wulfstan was held prisoner by King Eadred.²

As a further example of the importance of obverse links of this class in establishing the location of unidentified mints, the problem can be cited of two mints which are die-linked in the *first hand* type of Æthelred II and which are named on the coins as *Brygin* and *Niwan*. The moneyer's name is Æthestan. Michael Dolley, who discovered the die-link, plausibly identified *Brygin* with Bridgnorth in Shropshire, and suggested that *Niwan* was to be found nearby.³ This attribution now seems unlikely, because yet another reverse die of Æthestan's has been found with the same obverse and this time the mint-signature is *Caft*,⁴ which is an unusual but not unique abbreviation of Shaftesbury in Dorset (Pl. IX, 1-4). I hesitate to speculate on the identity of *Brygin* and *Niwan* in the light of this discovery, but it would be surprising if they were very far from Shaftesbury.

When the die-link involves different moneyers at different mints the explanation may not be so simple. What, for example, are we to make of links such as the hitherto unpublished one between London and *Gothaburh* in *last small cross*? The obverse die is of impeccable style for a mint in the south-west. It was used by two *Gothaburh* moneyers,⁵ one of whom is also known for Exeter in the same issue. There is, however, a coin in my own collection which combines this obverse die with a reverse of the London moneyer Leofwine (Pl. IX, 10). Not only is there no other instance known to me of an obverse die of Exeter style being associated with a London mint-signature, but also the reverse die of Leofwine is of a style of lettering quite foreign to London. The style is, I think, very similar to that used on one of the *Gothaburh* dies.⁶ Was Leofwine's coin really struck at London? And what is perhaps even more disconcerting, had this die-link been discovered before the links between *Gothaburh* and Exeter what theories might have been advanced about the location of *Gothaburh*?

As it happens, Leofwine of London is also involved in two other links of the same kind in *last small cross*. In one of these (Pl. IX, 5-6) he uses an obverse die which is otherwise known for the emergency mint of *Sith(m)esteburh*, which has been identified by Dolley and Elmore Jones with the hill fort of Cissbury, Sussex, on the strength of a die-link with Chichester in Cnut's *quatrefoil* issue.⁷ Leofwine's reverse die seems to have stylistic affinities with the die that is linked to '*Gothaburh*'.⁸ In the final link so far discovered, Leofwine is associated with the Stamford moneyer Æscman (Pl. IX, 7-8). The obverse die is of a style firmly associated with a die cutter who also served the mint

¹ See for example *BNJ* xxxv (1966), pp. 25-33.

² *BNJ* xxviii, pp. 270-7.

³ *BNJ* xxviii, pp. 92-9.

⁴ Hild. Æthelred 3335.

⁵ The coins are illustrated in *BNJ* xxviii (1956), Pl. XXII, nos. 6-7.

⁶ Loc. cit. no. 7.

⁷ *BNJ* xxviii, pp. 277-82.

⁸ Leofwine's coin is Hild. Æth. 2705 (1-08 g.).

of Lincoln. In this case the style of Leofwine's reverse die is also typical of the Lincoln area.¹

It would, I suggest, be going far beyond the evidence to say that the explanation for this curious set of die-links must be that all the coins involved (including the 'Gothaburh', 'Sith(m)esteburh', and Stamford coins) were struck at London. Nor does it seem possible to argue that the three obverse dies were sent to London from their respective mints and were used there by Leofwine: the stylistic evidence of his reverse dies is against such a hypothesis. One is driven to the conclusion that Leofwine was no ordinary moneyer, and that he actually travelled (with the king?) to 'Gothaburh', Cissbury, and Stamford and was required to coin silver in each of these places. The London mint-signature can be explained on the basis that he was not officially authorized to mint coins at any of the three mints involved, and that the responsibility for any deficiency in the coins he struck there could not therefore be placed on the local minting authority. Only by using the signature of his accredited mint could he effectively be brought to account.

This conclusion, if valid, is of the greatest importance in studying the mint organization of the period. It provides at one and the same time a means of explaining unusual obverse die-links between different moneyers at different mints, and a warning against accepting the mint-signature on a coin at its face value, particularly if the coin is a stylistic oddity for the mint.

Finally, if a link does not simply involve one obverse and two reverse dies but extends to a chain of mints, and if it also involves 'mules'—that is, coins with an obverse of one issue and a reverse of another—it becomes necessary to consider whether the coins were minted outside England. Many examples of chain links of this kind are known: sometimes they involve dies which are undoubtedly of English workmanship and others which are crude imitations.² In such cases we must presume that the English dies were captured or were deliberately exported. That exporting did occur seems clear from some *quatrefoil* dies of Cnut with his Danish title which can only have been cut at the centre responsible for the Lincoln mint.³ The reverses bear the names of moneyers Godwine and Leofnoth, who for some reason are attributed to Winchester though no moneyer of the latter name is known from a true coin of that mint.⁴

Much remains to be learnt about mint organization in late Anglo-Saxon England from a thorough analysis of dies. Systematic searching for links between mints has so far been limited to a few of the issues which are visually easy to work with.

Conclusion

May I end on a personal note? In setting myself the task of delivering a series of addresses of this kind during my Presidency I was only too well aware of the gaps in my understanding, both of coins and of history. I expected to add more to my own knowledge in the process than I was likely to add to that of my fellow members. Certainly I have learnt much: I hope I have not done so at the expense of boring my audience at five consecutive Anniversary Meetings.

¹ The coins involved are Hild. Æth. 2682 (1.02 g.) and 3432 (1.27 g.).

² See, for example, *BNJ* xxx (1961), pp. 235–51.

³ Compare, for example, Lockett Sale Catalogue,

Pt. III (Continental) lot 567 with the Lincoln coins illustrated in Mossop.

⁴ For a discussion of Leofnoth see *BNJ* xxx (1961), p. 244, and Pl. XIII.

KEY TO PLATE IX

- 1-4 *Æthelred II, first hand* type, moneyer *Æthestan*, from a common obverse die. The order of striking appears, from the rust-marks, to be as shown:
 1. Mint-signature 'Niwan': *SHM INV.* 9392-2 (1.49 g.).
 2. From same dies as 1: Stockholm, Systematic Collection, duplicate of Hild. *Æthelred* 3447 (1.62 g.; the Hildebrand coin weighs 1.60 g.).
 3. Mint-signature 'Brygin': Stockholm, Hild. *Æthelred* 104 (1.52 g.).
 4. Mint-signature 'Caft' (Shaftesbury): Stockholm, Hild. *Æthelred* 3335 (1.38 g.).
- 5-6 *Æthelred II, last small cross* type, from a common obverse die of a 'London' style:
 5. Moneyer Godwine (GODRINE), mint-signature 'Sithe' (Cissbury): Hild. *Æthelred* 3409 (1.22 g.).
 6. Moneyer Leofwine (LEOFRINE), mint-signature 'Lun' (London): Hild. *Æthelred* 2705 (1.08 g.).
- 7-8 *Æthelred II, last small cross* type, from a common obverse die of 'Northern A (Lincoln)' style:
 7. Moneyer *Æscman*, mint-signature 'Stanf' (Stamford): Hild. *Æthelred* 3432 (1.27 g.).
 8. Moneyer Leofwine (LEOFRINE), mint-signature 'Lunden' (London): Hild. *Æthelred* 2682 (1.02 g.).
- 9 *Æthelred II, last small cross* type, unique variety with *obv.* king wearing a pointed helmet; *rev.* +EALDRED MON LUND: Bergen museum (photograph kindly supplied by Mr. Dolley).
- 10 *Æthelred II, last small cross* type, from an obverse die also used at 'Gothaburh' by moneyers Goda and Wulmæ (Hild. *Æthelred* 1131 and 1137—respectively 1.77 and 1.11 g.—see *BNJ* xxviii (1956), Pl. XXII, (6-7):
 - Moneyer Leofwine, mint-signature 'Lunde' (London): author's collection (1.31 g.).
- 11-12 Coins of Alfred and Edward the Elder, moneyer Bernvald, from reverse dies of similar style: both from the Cuerdale hoard:
 11. Mint-signature 'Ohsnaforda': *BMC* Alfred 127 (25.6 grains).
 12. No mint-signature, but obverse die of early Southern style: *BMC* Edward the Elder 21 (24.2 grains).

Note. Nos. 1-9 are enlarged $\times 2$; nos. 10-12 are actual size.

THE PRESIDENT'S REVIEW OF THE YEAR

COUNTING tonight's elections the membership of the Society stands at 459, of whom 322 are ordinary, 17 are junior, and 120 are institutional members. During the year we have elected 32 new members, and we have lost six by resignation and six by amoval.

With much regret I have to report the deaths of five members: A. H. F. Baldwin, L. L. Kay, W. Laing, Colonel E. C. Linton, and J. D. A. Thompson. Anthony Thompson's death is a serious loss to the Heberden Coin Room at the Ashmolean Museum, where he had worked for thirty-four years and had been an Assistant Keeper for the last thirteen. He joined the Society in 1946, served on Council for the years 1950-3, and contributed a number of papers to the *Journal*. As an author he will, however, probably be best remembered for his *Inventory of British Coin Hoards A.D. 600-1500* which, whatever its errors and omissions, deserves to be recognized as a pioneering work. It is to be hoped that, as a tribute to him, a second edition will be prepared which will take account of subsequent work in the field of hoard reconstruction.

Mr. Baldwin, usually referred to as 'Uncle Fred' to distinguish him from other members of his family, was well known to several generations of collectors and students. He was called back from semi-retirement to see his firm through a difficult reorganization after the untimely death of his nephew Albert in 1967. He joined the Society in 1923 and served on Council from 1932 until after the war; he was one of our most senior members.

Colonel Linton was elected in 1950 and served on Council for the years 1952-6; he contributed several short notes to the *Journal*. Mr. Laing had been a member since 1956; Mr. Kay, who lived in the United States, was elected as recently as 1967.

No major changes in the Society have taken place during the past twelve months. Meetings have been well attended on the whole, with an exceptionally large turnout last month for Miss Marion Archibald's lucid account of the 1968 Colchester hoard. An unusual contribution to our proceedings was the talk in May by Mr. John Bannon on the salvaging of the Dutch ship *De Liefde* and its treasure, as seen from the point of view of a director of a commercial enterprise. It was clear that the interests of commerce and scholarship need not be irreconcilable when it comes to salvaging wrecks which have been broken up by the action of the sea, though it might be another matter where the wreck was largely intact.

The Librarian reports that loans to members of the two Societies have risen by more than 25 per cent compared with the previous year. Purchases for the library include H. Bertil Petersson's *Anglo-Saxon Currency*; Michael Dolley's *Irish Mints of Edward I*; the Manx Museum's catalogue of the J. D. Clucas collection; and issues of the local historical/archaeological journals of Cork, North Munster, Chinon, and Somerset containing articles of numismatic interest. Volumes donated during the year include further fascicles of the *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles*, representing Part II of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (English coins, 1066-1279) and Part III of the Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, National Museum, Copenhagen (Anglo-Saxon coins of Cnut). Mention should also be made of *The Lincoln Mint c. 890-1279*, compiled by

H. R. Mossop and edited by Veronica Smart; and the collected papers of Sir Frank Stenton *Preparatory to 'Anglo-Saxon England'*, edited by Lady Stenton, which includes Sir Frank's lecture to the Society on Anglo-Saxon coinage and the historian, given on the occasion of our first meeting in the Warburg Institute. Later series are represented by a number of new publications, including Philip Whitting's *Coins, Tokens and Medals of the East Riding of Yorkshire*; George Berry's *Discovering Trade Tokens* (probably the best introduction to those of the seventeenth century); and Part 3 of Seaby's *Standard Catalogue* covering the coins and tokens of Ireland. Among reprints of old works, Seaby's reprint of the British Museum catalogue of Anglo-Saxon coins is very welcome, and the new impression of Mr. Peck's catalogue is a testimony to the widening appreciation of its value.

In thanking our Librarian, Robert Thompson, for supplying me with information about these new publications, I should also like to mention the contribution he has made towards recruiting new institutional members by circulating information about our *Journal* to 600 public and university libraries and selected national and special libraries in the British Isles. Although the circular was only sent out a few months ago we have already had several applications for membership as a direct result of it.

We were pleased to learn that Michael Dolley's painstaking work on the Swedish viking-age hoards had been rewarded with membership of the Royal Swedish Academy. We were therefore particularly glad to welcome at one of our meetings Dr. Nils Ludvig Rasmusson, chief antiquary in charge of the Royal Coin Cabinet in Stockholm, and his charming wife. Dr. Rasmusson will be retiring at the end of the year and will be settling in the historic town of Sigtuna.

Preparations are nearing completion in the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland for the replacement of the shillings and pence to which we have been used since Norman times (and perhaps even earlier) by new pence on a decimal system. The transition will take place in February 1971. It has so far caused no more than a ripple across the calm surface of the Society. Personally I have considerable regrets at the passing of the duodecimal system, not only for nostalgic reasons but also because the duodecimal has some advantages over the decimal. However, because of the thoroughness of the preparation (as exemplified numismatically by R. G. de Glanville's study, published by the Central Statistical Office, of *The Numbers of Coins in Circulation in the United Kingdom*) I have no doubt that the change will be swift and that it will be a matter of days rather than weeks before the housewife is completely attuned to the new system—the young housewife, at least. And our younger children will have simpler sums to do.

Before I end my fifth and last annual review I should like to say a few words about the future of this Society. I am prompted to do so by the remarks of Mr. Derek Allen on the subject earlier this year in his final address as President of the Royal Numismatic Society. As a past president of our own Society he rightly felt that he was in an especially favourable position to compare the strengths and weaknesses of the two societies. Our great strength, as Mr. Allen recognized, lies in our *Journal*, for it is in its pages that the major advances in the study of British numismatics during the past forty years are recorded. But, paradoxically, for most of this period we have had to worry about the financing of the *Journal*. Initially this was because of a declining membership; latterly the membership has grown steadily but costs have risen just as fast. We have

had to leave special publications on British numismatics to the Royal Numismatic Society and to the British Academy. At the same time the R.N.S., which is concerned with coinage throughout the world and in all ages, has given relatively sparse coverage to British numismatics, both at meetings and in the pages of the *Numismatic Chronicle*. This is undoubtedly due to the existence of a separate society—our own—which specializes in this field. It is possible that, as a result, the very high quality of recent research in the British series is not as well known abroad as it should be, since the circulation of the *Journal* is more restricted than that of the *Chronicle*.

Mr. Allen suggested that the time might be drawing near when a merger between the two societies would be in the interests of both. He had in mind a system under which the two publications would be maintained and members of the joint society could subscribe to either or both. His suggestion deserves to be explored by the councils of the two societies, negotiating on equal terms.

A merger might be considered favourably by our members if it was expected to result in increased financial resources being placed behind the *Journal* and in further special publications on the British series. I think, however, that it would be necessary to have two programmes of monthly meetings in replacement of the separate programmes of the two societies. Although there is a shortage of research workers in the British series, enough material appears to be forthcoming to make up a worth-while programme and much detailed work remains to be done throughout the series. Even in the Anglo-Saxon period, where intensive research has been carried out in recent years, we have only begun to scratch the surface of some of the numismatic problems which this research has uncovered. There is considerable scope, in this and later periods, for more general research along the boundary—if boundary there be—between numismatics and economic history, and the detailed examination of particular issues of coins is a necessary prelude to it.

It can, however, be argued that the present division between British and other coinages (incomplete though it is, since the *Chronicle* publishes a number of papers on British numismatics) is arbitrary and tends to encourage an insular approach. This, in turn, prevents the analytical skills which have been developed by British numismatists working in the medieval field from being applied to related continental coinages such as the Carolingian. Perhaps the solution would be for separate programmes—and separate periodicals—to cover ancient coinages on the one hand and medieval and modern coinages on the other.

Whatever the merits and demerits of a merger on these lines, there must be a danger of a conflict between emotion and logic. The factions which led to the formation of our own Society in 1903 no longer exist, but many of our members have given a lifetime of service to the Society and are intensely loyal to its tradition. It is always easier to break away than to reunite, as has been demonstrated to us recently in other fields. Any scheme of union must therefore be very carefully planned if it is to succeed, and the whole must be of greater value than the sum of its parts. My personal opinion is that there is nothing to be lost, and perhaps much to be gained, in agreeing to any proposal which may be made by Mr. Allen's successor for the establishment of a joint working party to look into the whole question and report to the two Councils. It goes without saying that any decision to amalgamate could only be taken by the members at a General Meeting.

Balance Sheet as at 31 October 1969

Report of the Auditors to the Members of the British Numismatic Society

GILBERTS, HALLETT & EGLINGTON
Chartered Accountants

Expenditure and Income Account for the Year ended 31 October 1969

EXPENDITURE				INCOME			
1968	£	s.	d.	1968	£	s.	d.
19	Printing and Stationery			21	16	8	
	Expenses of Meetings, Rent and						
28	Library Facilities			35	12	6	
76	Sundry Expenses			96	14	7	
	Journal Expenses:						
	£	s.	d.				
	1967 Journal	2,009	13 7				
	Less Previous Provisions	1,832	0 0				
				177	13	7	
	1968 Journal						
	Increased provision for printing, and cost of plates less donations .	230	11 1				
	1969 Journal						
	Plate Printing and Provision .	2,000	0 0				
		2,408	4 8				
	Less British Academy Grant . .	150	0 0				
2,341				2,258	4	8	
10	Buxton Prize Provision			10	0	0	
	Sanford Saltus Medals			101	10	0	
	Excess of Income over Expenditure carried to General Purposes Fund			41	8	2	
£2,524				£2,565	6	7	

My term of office is over, and you will have a new President after this evening. I am sure you will find that Mr. Stuart Rigold will be in the tradition of scholarly Presidents of the past. He has wider horizons than English numismatics and will bring to the Society's direction the benefits of his knowledge and experience. He will be helped by one of the most loyal teams it has been my privilege to know. Our Secretary, Treasurer, Librarian, and Editors carry the main burden of the day-to-day management of our affairs, their actions supported by members of Council. In expressing my thanks to them for making my task so light that it seems but yesterday since I was first elected to this office, I can assure my successor that he can rely on the same unstinting service that they have given me. I wish him every success in the years that lie ahead.

APPENDIX

The English hoards for the twelve months ending on 31 October 1970 are as follows:

April 1970	York (Coppergate)	Twelve silver shillings and half-crowns (including Scottish), Edward VI to Charles I. Deposition c. 1630.
April 1970	Kingsley Holt, near Leek, Staffs.	523 gold and silver coins (nominal value £217. 4s. 6d.), 1846-1916; found in a tin.
June 1970	Winsford, Cheshire	246 silver coins, threepence to half-crown, Edward VI to Charles I (including three false Charles I shillings). Deposition c. 1645. Found in a mug on a building site.
October 1970	Sherborne, Dorset	Ten gold coins (nine Portuguese, one Spanish) and 124 silver coins (Henry VI to Henry VIII, including 121 halfpence of Henry VIII).

In addition, *Coins, Medals and Currency* for 8 August 1970 reported the finding of three 'Iron Age' coins on a building site at Billericay, Essex, and *Collectors Weekly* for 26 September 1970 referred to the finding of five silver coins of the first century B.C. in an excavation at the Lunt Roman Fort, Baginton, Warwicks.

I am grateful to Miss Archibald and Mr. Thompson for supplying this information.

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY 30 JUNE 1971

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HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF WINDSOR
HIS MAJESTY KING GUSTAV VI OF SWEDEN

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- PARIS, FRANCE, Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, France.
 PENNSYLVANIA, U.S.A., The Library, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Penn., U.S.A., c/o George Harding's Bookshops Ltd., 106 Great Russell Street, London, W.C. 1.
 PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, Československá Akademie Ved Základní Knihovna, Praha 1, Narodní Trida 3.
- READING, Reading Coin Club, c/o G. B. Dewhurst Esq., 4 Abbots Road, Newbury, Berks.
 READING, The Chief Librarian, The Public Libraries, Reading, Berks.

READING, The Librarian, The University Library, Reading, Berks.

ROME, ITALY, Istituto Italiano di Numismatica, Palazzo Barberini, Via Quattro Fontane, Rome, Italy.

SAARBRÜCKEN, GERMANY, Universitätsbibliothek, Saarbrücken 15, Germany.

ST. LOUIS, U.S.A., Washington University Libraries, Aquisition Department, St. Louis, Missouri 63130, U.S.A.

SHEFFIELD, The Chief Librarian, Sheffield City Libraries, Central Library, Surrey Street, Sheffield, Yorks.

SHEFFIELD, The Librarian, The University, Sheffield, Yorks.

SOUTHAMPTON, The Librarian, The University, Southampton, SO9 5NH.

STANFORD, CALIFORNIA, U.S.A., Serials Department, Stanford University Libraries, Stanford, California 94305, U.S.A.

STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN, Kungl. Myntkabinettet, Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm Ö, Sweden.

SUNDERLAND, The Public Library, Museum, and Art Gallery, Borough Road, Sunderland, Co. Durham.

SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA, The Fisher Library, University of New South Wales, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia.

SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA, The Public Library of New South Wales, Macquarie Street, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia.

TORONTO, CANADA, Serials Department, The Library, University of Toronto, Toronto 5, Canada.

ULSTER MUSEUM, Stranmillis, Belfast 9, N. Ireland.

UPPSALA, SWEDEN, Universitetsbiblioteket, Uppsala, Sweden.

VATICAN CITY, ROME, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican, Rome.

VIENNA, AUSTRIA, Österreichische Numismatische Gesellschaft, Burgring 1, Wien, Austria.

WAKEFIELD, The Librarian, The County Library Headquarters, Baln Lane, Wakefield, Yorks.

WARSAW, POLAND, Polskie Towarzystwo Archeologiczne, Zarząd Główny, ul. Jezuicka, Warszaw, Poland.

WASHINGTON, U.S.A., Continuations Unit, Order Division (7778) Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540, U.S.A.

WILTSHIRE, The Librarian, County Library and Museum H.Q., Mortimer Street, Trowbridge, Wiltshire.

WINCHESTER, The Curator, The City Museum, The Square, Winchester, Hants.

WINCHESTER, The Librarian, Hampshire County Library, North Walls, Winchester, Hants.

WINCHESTER, Hampshire County Museum Service, Chilcomb House, Chilcomb Lane, Winchester, Hants.

YALE, U.S.A., Serials Department, Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut 06520, U.S.A.

YEovil, The Librarian, The Public Library and Museum, Yeovil, Somerset.

YORK, The Keeper, The Yorkshire Museum, York.

CORRIGENDUM TO VOL. XXXVIII

On Plate IX in the last column the obverses of Nos. 6 and 7 have been transposed. The name should read Rayleigh Mount.